

AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 4. No. 1; MARCH 1945

WOMEN'S NAMES AMONG THE OVIMBUNDU OF ANGOLA

ELISABETH LOGAN ENNIS

Considerable insight into the thought patterns of a people can be gathered from the customs which concern their names and the naming of their children. In this paper I wish to discuss the names of Ovimbundu women and I have confined myself, with a few exceptions, to the names of women for two reasons. First, because the whole field is so extensive I have not been able to cover it and second, because women are more conservative and show less inclination to discard the old-fashioned names.

The Ovimbundu occupy Central Angola and form the largest language group in the Colony. According to the Census of 1940 about 370,000 people speak Umbundu, as their language is called. They are great travellers and can be found in all the cities of Angola and the Congo and as far away as Johannesburg. But they belong in the region from the coast to the Kuanza river and between Lat. 11° S. and 14° S, with the exception of a narrow strip of coast land occupied by the VaCisanje. Before White occupation of the upland, that is prior to 1880, they were divided into seven chieftainships which had minor wars among themselves but were in alliance. At present all tribal life is being destroyed by government policy.

The society of the Ovimbundu shows both matrilineal and patrilineal influence with the increasing tendency in the patrilineal direction. Remnants of matrilineal customs remain in that a

woman continues to belong to her own family after marriage and nominally her children also belong to her family and look to her brother as their highest authority. Actually this custom is breaking down and it is generally the father who arranges marriages for his daughters and receives the *ilombo* (bride payment). A woman cannot make an offering at the family shrine which is to spirits in the male line, and the passing on of family names in the male line seems to have something to do with this. A woman is not at liberty to name a baby herself or to propose naming it for one of her family before the third or fourth child. It is customary for the first male child to be named after the paternal grandfather and the first female child after the paternal grandmother. Uncles and aunts on the father's side account for the succeeding two or three and then it is the mother's turn. Children are generally named after someone who is called *sando* (namesake) and a definite relation exists between a person and his namesake. This word *sando*, at once suggests Portuguese origin but, if that is the case, the word entered the language so long ago that no one now recognizes its derivation. At the present time practically every child receives also a name of foreign origin, either from the Bible or a Portuguese name.

In this article the orthography has followed that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures as far as possible:

c=ch as in "church." The vowels are Italian in value. The accent is on the penult unless otherwise indicated.

1. Names Common to Either Sex

These are names predetermined by the facts of birth such as the names for twins, triplets and the single birth following either. Twins are considered a prodigy requiring the ministrations of the witch-doctor (*ocimbanda*) and very specialized treatment, but both are cherished. In fact the ceremony is said to be in order to preserve their lives. They are named *Njamba* (*onjamba*, elephant) and *Hosi* (*ohosi*, lion). Triplets are named *Njamba*, *Hosi*, and *Ngeve* (*ongeve*, hippopotamus). When a word beginning with the letter *o* is used as a proper noun, the initial vowel is left off. The mother of twins is called *Nanjamba* (*Na(lo)njamba*, *olonjamba* meaning "twins"), and the mother of triplets is called *Nelongo* (*Na*, mother + *elongo*, triplets). The younger brother or sister of twins is named *Kasinda*: *osinda* is the earth that blocks the passage behind a burrowing animal. *Lusati* is the name given to a child born after the death of the father. The word *olusati* means "a stalk of maize," and perhaps refers to the way the stalks stand in a harvested field.

Enyama is a name given either to a boy or girl because of circumstances occurring during the pregnancy of the mother. The shadow of the *enyamahuti* (hawk) has fallen upon her and her child is bewitched and suffers from a paralysis. The shadow may fall upon the child after it is born and cause paralysis, and this name is then added to the others it bears.

Kambundu is a name given to a baby who is supposed to be bewitched because the mother had a flow of blood at some time during her pregnancy. The child's spirit is thought to be very unstable and liable to separate from the body, so the child requires special care. The mother must always carry a rattle and shake it at crossroads or when crossing a stream, so that the spirit may not stray. It also has an affinity for meat or fat and may depart in search of such. The child is then listless until the spirit returns, but is then likely to become very ill. Women who have had this

experience become doctors for this particular disease, and they mark the patient with daubs of white clay.

Muhongo is a name given to a child born after what the mother considers an abnormally long pregnancy. She goes to a witch-doctor for treatment and has to wear a sort of cap with strings of beads that fall down over her face.

2. The Commonest Names

The two commonest names among women are *Ngeve* and *Cilombo*. In this case *Ngeve* seems to have nothing to do with the use of the name for one of triplets, which is, of course, a very rare occurrence. *Cilombo* means "roadside camp" and is a welcome sight to weary travellers, so that *Cilombo* is, so to speak, "a sight for sore eyes." A refrain of carriers on a double load runs: First carrier, *Ame ndi kuela Ngeve* (I am going to marry Ngeve!); Second Carrier, *Ame ndi kuela Cilombo* (I am going to marry Cilombo!). There is a long story about *Ngeve-yesunga* (Ngeve the good) and *Cilombo-coku-unjuka* (Cilombo the gentle).

3. Names Derived from Proverbial Sayings

Many names derive from proverbs or from sayings which reveal some of the Umbundu philosophy of life. I shall try to classify some of these proverbs according to the sentiment they express.

(a) Names which contain direct reference to the high-god. For these we have to take examples from the names of men.

Sukuakuece: *Suku a ku ece, imbanda vi lipande*. (God you may free, doctors may boast themselves. May God free you, then the doctors may boast). The sentiment of this proverb is something like that of the 127th Psalm, "Except the Lord build the house they labour in vain that build it."

Sukuonjali: *Suku onjali; o yendeleka ño, ka pesela*. (God is a parent; he tips over only, not spills). *Onjali* is used to describe anyone who is kind and helpful.

Sukuohembi: *Suku ohembi; wa tu kema omuenyo*. (God is a liar; he us lied life. God lied to us about life). This name is used when other children have died. It is like, "The Lord

has given and the Lord has taken away"; but they do not say, "Blessed be the name of the Lord!"

Sukuapanga: *Suku wa panga*; *Kalunga wa pangulula*. (God willed; Death "unwilled"). This proverb, in grappling with the mystery of death, introduces what almost amounts to a separate deity. *Kalunga* is variously explained as "death," "the abode of the dead," or "fate."

Caimbasuku: *Ca imba Suku lomue omunu o patālā*. (It throws God no person disputes. The will of God is inescapable).

The following names of women have a similar meaning but do not contain the name of God.

Simbovala: *Osimbu o vala ipembe, kalunga o ku vala pomuenyo* (While you mark out a field, Death you marks out in life. While in life you are in the midst of death).

Capopia and *Sipatālā*: *Ca popia Suku si patālā*. (It says God I do not dispute). Both parts of this proverb are used as names: they are the feminine equivalent of *Caimbasuku*.

Vatukemba: *Va tu kemba*; *Suku wa tu kemba omuenyo*. (They us lie (to); God us lied life). This is the feminine equivalent of *Sukuohembi*.

Ayondela: *Okoti ka yombi yombi*; *vohi tua yondela Kalunga*. (A little tree bends and bends; all we bend toward Death). This name is exceptional in the mutilation of the words which compose it: *tua yondela, tu (ayondela)*.

These names all indicate the preoccupation of their minds with the inevitability of death and its connection with the twin mystery of birth.

(b) Names taken from proverbs which comment on social relations.

Cisungue: *Ci (li) sungue colonjo*; *itima via likapaela*. (It is near of houses; hearts themselves by put. Houses may be near but hearts keep to themselves).

Pandasala: *O pandasala utima wove*; *kutima wukuene ombala yikuavo*. (You search heart your; at the heart of another village another). The word "village" does not exactly explain *ombala*, which is really the capital of another country and so under different management. The heart knows its own bitterness but it cannot know that of another.

Citalala: *Ci talala ka ci pui kusenge*; *ciwa ka ci pui komanu*. (It (is) green not it is used up in the woods; good not it (is) used up among people. Greenness is never wholly absent from the woods and goodness is never wholly absent from people).

Katapepo: *Ka tapepo ku ka samepo*; *colohuela weya oku vumba*. (Go get water, do not fuss; the thing of marriage comes to serve. Service is a part of marriage, do not expect it to be otherwise). The proverb also carries the warning that a woman is not expected to take part in discussions of matters which concern her husband's family.

Cohilā: *Ca uhilā oneñe, kutima ku vala*. (It is silent on the part of the young, at heart it hurts. The young are silent about the things that hurt them).

Esenje: *Esenje liwa ka li mōli ofule*; *onyima yiwa ka yi mōli omōlā*. (A stone good not it sees a pounding of maize; a back good not it sees a child). Here is a ledge of rock that would make an excellent place to pound meal and it never has been used! Here is a back just right for carrying a baby and it has none! This is the lament of a childless woman, and a general comment on the way affairs turn out.

Cinawendela: *Ocina wa endela ca ku nyehā onduko*. (The thing you went for it you took away name). A person's work takes him among strangers and there he has to make a new reputation for himself and cannot depend upon favour.

Yendelela: *Ya endelela ka lēlālēlā pekonjo*. (It keeps going does not stay fat on the hoof. The animal that keeps on the go does not stay fat). The use of the proverb is the reverse of "a prophet's being honoured away from home," and says that a person of some consequence where he is known is ignored among strangers.

Mbundu: *Ombundu yokombaka ombela yokonano*. (The mist of the coast (is) the rain of the up-land). Customs differ. One man's meat is another man's poison. This name is sometimes referred to another proverb as follows: *Ndukulu womunda*; *ndi lipasula lombundu yomēlē*. (I am an old person of the mountain; I greet the mist of the morning). This means that one must live closely with a person in order to be acquainted with his traits of character.

Njakupiti : Onji(la) ku piti ku ka yi saike o vanja : (A path you do not pass through you not it close you look (at it merely). Do not prevent others from following a course because you yourself do not adopt it). This proverb is quoted differently as follows : *Onjila ku piti ku ka yi peme ovisingi.* (A path you do not pass through you not it clear off stumps. Do not waste time clearing the path you are not intending to walk in). Both these proverbs exemplify Umbundu ways of looking at things.

Cilēhē : Ci lēhē ño ; ci kaile. (It let stink just, it let be. (Just let it stink, let it be). If you disturb it you will make it worse. This is a graphic way of saying, "Mind your own business," but it, too, is differently stated as follows : *Ci lēhē cahe muēlē.* (It let stink (it is) his own). This refers to the custom of keeping a corpse a long time ; others avoid the place, but the relatives have to stand it. However bad a thing is, one has to face it if it is his own affair.

Paendombela : Pa enda ombela pa tala owiñi ; pa enda ondambi pa tala umosi. (There goes the rain there looks the crowd ; there goes a beauty there looks one. The rain falls for everyone, the beauty bestows her charms on only one).

Cisanganda : Ci sia (la la) nganda ocimbanda. (It is left with the fee (it is) the doctor). That is to say, the fee goes to the one who did the work.

Cingongeva : 'Ci (li)ng(a) ongeva ci njimbisa kualondo. (It makes homesickness it me throws into floods). A homesick person will go through floods or anything to get back home.

Cingawove : Ci (li)ng(a) wove ka ci lingi wamālē. (It do (to) your own, not it do (to) anybody else). This proverb refers to the liberties people take within the family circle. You do it to your own folks, but you would not dare to use other people that way.

(c) Names taken from proverbs that mention eating or hospitality.

Cinakualile : Ocina kua lile ka ci ku nali vimo. (The thing you did not eat not it you brings on stomach (ache). It was not what you did not eat that made you sick !)

Cinakavali : Cina ka va li asōsā, ka va yungi

ka va teleka. (Since not they eat brambles not they pick not they cook. Since they do not eat brambles they neither pick them nor cook them). Work is undertaken for some useful end.

Cinosole : Ocina o sole ku li luti. (The thing you like you do not eat with a stick). It is too much fun to lick your fingers if you like it !

Cisoleukombe : Ci sole ukombe ukuafeka ka ceci. (What likes the guest the host (person of the country) not it gives). The thing which the guest would like is the thing which is common to the country where he is visiting, but the host gets something unusual in order to honour his guest, and so disappoints him.

Cinofila : Ocina o fila humba o ci lia. (A thing you die for only if you it eat). This proverb is taken from the wearying and difficult work a hunter undergoes ; but the meat, which he will eat, is his reward. Work is no consideration if you are sufficiently interested in the results. The word *humba* is obsolete Umbundu ; a modern form would be *te nda* (only if).

Cinakui : Ocina ku i humba o ci lia. (A thing you (do) not know nevertheless you it eat). This proverb is the equivalent of "Eat what is set before you and ask no questions." The word *humba* occurs again in slightly different sense. Its use places both of these proverbs as very old.

Livanga : Livanga oku soka ku livange oku lia. (Be first to think do not be first to eat). This warning is looking at the matter in a less trustful manner than the preceding one, and recalls one to the danger of poisoning if one eats carelessly. Sometimes this proverb is turned around and says : *Livanga oku lia ku livange oku soka.* (Be first to eat do not be first to think). Perhaps this was turned about by a cynical joker, who says that if you stop to think it will take away your appetite, so you would do better to get what enjoyment you can out of life.

Kateke : Kateke tueya tua lia palonga ; kaliye kalo peya oku lila povilindo. (The days we came we ate off dishes ; now it comes to eating off wooden bowls). We have stayed too long and worn out our welcome ! This name is used as a descriptive name for a person who is very pleasant

at first but does not wear well upon longer acquaintance.

Situkuli : *Ositu ku li hayoko yi ku kusukisa osonde*. (Meat you not eat not that it you reddens (with) blood). If a person's hands are stained with cutting up meat he should have some of it to eat. Not to share one's good fortune is a serious social sin in the opinion of the Ovimbundu.

(d) Names taken from other proverbs unclassified as to subject matter.

Catava : *Ca tava otulo ; ca patālā alongembia*. (It consented sleep ; it protested pain. Sleep was willing but pain protested).

Ciyeva : *O ci yeva ku lingi*. (You it hear you not (it) do. You hear a thing but you do not do it). Performance lags behind knowledge.

Cinakulingi, Cinakupopi : *Ocina ku lingi ku popi*. (A thing you not do you not speak about). These two names come from the same proverb. The thing you do not do is the thing you do not talk about ; you prefer to boast about your achievements rather than the thing you cannot do.

Cinakutēlā : *Ocina ku tēlā ku popi*. (A thing you not able (to do) you not talk about). This again is saying the same thing. You do not talk about the things you cannot do.

Cakusola : *Ca ku sola ; wa kuama komunga*. (It you loved, you followed the messenger. You were selected and you accepted). A child whose birth follows an honour conferred upon its parents may be so named.

Nangosole : *Onanga o sole ka yi molēhū*. (The cloth you like not it appears). You cannot find the cloth you like, meaning that the unattainable is more highly prized than the thing in hand.

Visolela : *Ovisolela violomupa ; vi pungula viopongalo*. (Longings (are) of waterfalls ; these (you) pick over (are) of the drying trays). The ordinary things of life, like maize and beans to be sorted on drying trays, are things you can use your judgment about, but there are uncontrollable desires of the heart which are like waterfalls.

Kanene : *Okanene koviso*. (A little thing in the eye—is big).

Apangela : *(W)a pangela ka māli ungende*. (One who intends not finish journey).

4. Names Taken to Denote New Experiences

Ovimbundu women take new names to denote new experiences, more especially unpleasant experiences of which there seem to be a great number in their lives. Like Naomi they say, "Call me Mara, for the Almighty hath dealt bitterly with me!" These names may "take," and they are more than likely to be called by them to the exclusion of those by which they were called before. One woman whom I know has a name history as follows: As a baby she was named *Ngeve Cinakavali* for her grandmother, who was also *Nolombe*, because she was the mother of *Ulombe*, and *Vateñala* because of personal misfortunes. When her first child was born she took his name prefixed by *Na-*, and was known to her friends as *Nacikova*. Later she was accused of witchcraft and of having caused the death of children, and then she was seized as a slave by the son of a man who had kidnapped her mother when she was a girl. As a result of all these misadventures she named herself *Cakuili*, *Ca ku ili vakuene va yeca*. (What you not know your own give it), a name referring to trouble within the family. In spite of all this she has lived to see a great-grandchild bear all these names for her.

A name which one gives oneself because of trouble is called *onduko yoku tata*, a name of despair.

Vateñala : *Va teñalā, māi wa citila oviñi*. (They are gone, my mother bore a crowd). This is a name a woman takes when she has lost brothers and sisters.

Vondila : *Va undila ohumba longalo ; ocipala kundila*. (They borrow a basket and a sieve ; a face you do not borrow). This is the lament of a mother who has lost a child. There may be other children, but never with that same face.

Vatusia : *Va tu sia*. (They us leave behind). The dead are gone and we are left to mourn.

Vatalele : *Va talele onjamba ; onguluve ka ndokisa ombela*. (They have seen an elephant ; a warthog not cause to fall on me rain). This is the name a widow, who does not intend to remarry, bestows upon herself, and it is said to be quite effective!

Caimile : *Ca imile li loluka ; epata li citiwe li kunduka.* (It has borne it falls ; a family is born it perishes. A tree bears fruit and the fruit falls to the ground, a family has children and they all die).

The Ovimbundu traded in slaves and there were many slave concubines and their children to complicate family relationships. The names which follow refer to bad usage, generally within the family, either because of slavery or dependent position.

Sipopi : *Si popi ndupika si mbualeko.* (I do not speak, I am a slave, I am not a noble).

Hulilapi : *Hulila pi?* (I grow where?) This is the cry of one whose cramped position offers no chance for self-expression.

Numelie ; *Numanawa* : *Numa elie?* *Numa nawa ; si kuete ngandi.* (I send whom? I shall send an in-law ; I not have a relative). These two names come from the same saying. To have no family of one's own is to be in desperate case.

Cilikonawa : *Ci li konawa ; ci li keveke.* (It is in care of an in-law ; it is in care of a fool). This name further elucidates the confidence put in the family of one's husband.

Ngendalelie ; *Siendilavo* : *Ngenda lelie?* *Si endi lavo.* (I shall go with whom? I shall not go with them). Again we have both ends of a saying used as a name and as in the other case it is question and answer. It is the cry of an orphan or slave who rebels against her position but sees no help.

Ndasiala : *Nda siala love ka ci lembi oku lila.* (I (am) left with you not it comforts the weeping). The sense of this name is also that of an orphan or slave who finds no comfort.

Mopeleko : *Mopeleko ove o kuete onjende, ame u o mopela siu kuete.* (Me save you who have a mother, I one who me will save I not have. Save me! I have no relatives to help me). Again the cry of one who is being sold or made a hostage.

Sikilavo : *Si iki lavo.* (I am not used to them. I do not feel at home with them). The lament of one torn from familiar surroundings and friends.

Kamiapiulu : *Okamiapiulu.* (A little cinder).

"Cinderella". One who was lost from a caravan so named herself.

Tuayunge : *Tua yunga va lia pelau, kohali ka vey.* (We picked they ate plenty, to hard times not they come. We had friends in time of plenty, in our hardship they do not share).

Canjika : *Ca njika.* (It to me has become habit. I am used to it). The form *njika* with the first person direct object does not permit of literal translation into English.

Vasuvuka : *Va suvuka.* (They me hate). This name, like many others of its class, has the indefinite "they" of gossip. The verb, however, is far from indefinite, and means that someone has ill-will which will cause sickness or death.

5. Names Due to some Characteristic

There is also a class of names bestowed by others because of some characteristic or appearance. These are in the nature of nicknames and are practically unlimited in number. Only a few examples can be given.

Kosale : (*Ka usala*—The (one who) goes there and back in a day). A name given to a spry and nimble person.

Njunju : (*Onjunju*—the name of a large mushroom). Applied to a deliberate and rather languid person.

Kameke : (*Omeke*—a blind person). The name is given to one with small or squint eyes.

Kanjonjo : (*Okanjonjo*—a humming bird). The name is given to an inquisitive, interfering sort of person.

Kumbelembe : *Ku mbelembe.* (You are not well-kept). A name applied to a poor, thin, ill-used child.

Capukulua : *Ca pukulua.* (It's neglected). Same as above.

6. Names Associated with Place

Another class of names derives from some association with place. These all begin with *coko-* followed by a place word. *Coko-* means a thing of such and such a place, rather than a person. I have not found any explanation for this.

Cokoputu : (*Co koputu*—a thing of a foreign land). The concord *co-* refers to *ocina*, a thing.

Cokoluse : (*Co koluse*—a thing pertaining to your father's village).

Cokoviye : (*Co ko viye*—a thing pertaining to Viye, i.e. Bié, the middle province of Angola).

Cokovenda : (*Co kovenda*—a thing pertaining to a shop).

Cokuvala : (*Co kuvala*—a thing pertaining to your wife's village).

Cokombaka : (*Co kombaka*—a thing pertaining to the coast town, i.e. Benguela).

Cokindaisi : (*Co kindaisi*—a thing pertaining to the railroad tracks).

7. Names Associated with Birth or Family Incidents

Some names are explained by incidents which occurred at birth or by family conditions.

Vihemba : (*Ovihemba*—medicine or charms). The name may be given to a child whose birth was difficult and required the use of charms.

Nduva ; *Mungu* : *Onduva yomungu*. *Popela ponduva oco onduva yi ka luve*. (A lory of a ghost. Speak to the lory then the lory may explain). The lory is a bird of gay plumage but very harsh voice. *Omungu* is the ghost of one who has died at a distance from home, and the lory is supposed to bring a message from him. Both of these words are used as names, and may be given to a child born at a time when the family has received bad tidings.

Kosenge : (*Ka usenge*—the bush). A name given to a child born in the field or in the woods. The corresponding name for a boy is *Usenge*, and it is not quite clear what *ka-* does to the word but it is very frequently used when personalizing a common noun to make a name of it.

Ngongo or *Kangongo* : (*Ongongo*—trouble). A name given to a baby girl born into a family where there is mourning or sickness.

Elumbu : (*Elumbu*—mystery). A name given to a baby born prematurely, whose survival was problematical for some time. I suppose it might be given to a boy baby, but can find no instance to illustrate it.

Huso : (*Ohuso yakāi*—the feigned sadness of a bride). This may be given as a name to a baby because of fancied resemblance of expression.

Ngula : (*Ongula yomēlē*—the colour of morning). This means the dawn, and may be given to a baby born at cock-crowing.

Ekuva : (*Ekuva*—the beheading axe of the king). It is euphemistically called a hoe, because the guardian of it is an old woman supposed to be a witch. She is referred to as *Ekuva*, and so it comes to be a name of certain families.

Njinga : (*Njinga*—the name of a famous queen, of whom many fabulous tales are told). This name is a favourite.

Ciyaneke : (*Ciya (lolo) neke*—It will come with the days). That is time will tell. This name is given when many other children have died, and there is no great optimism about the fate of this one.

Ceyavali : (*Ceya vali*—It has come again). The idea behind this name is the same as in the preceding. With all the disappointments we have had, now we have to go through it again. Often babies are called by some derisive or uncomplimentary term for a few months until they have really gained a foothold on earth. This is supposed to divert the attention of spirits and so give the child more of a chance of survival.

In conclusion it remains to consider what may be gathered from this brief survey. In the first place it shows that there are two opposite tendencies at work in Umbundu name customs. It appears that the traditional idea of the Ovimbundu is that a name is bestowed upon or taken by a person for some definite reason pertaining to that person. Of sentiment there is plenty, but it is of a deep, almost tragic, cast. No names are given because of their euphonic quality or their association with pleasing objects in nature. There being no surnames, the recurrent use of the same names within the family is undoubtedly of ancient origin. People often say, when interrogated, "Such and such a name is (or is not) used in our family."

On the other hand the custom of the *sando* tends to destroy the personal significance of names. A woman calls herself *Nanjamba* because she is the mother of twins. Then a baby is named after

her and *Nanjamba* becomes a practically new and personally inappropriate name. This tends to destroy the meaning of names, and has already done so to a considerable extent. Comparatively few people can explain them; others when asked the meaning of their names say they do not know, they were named after a certain person and that is as far as their curiosity extends. That the old names persist as much as they do goes to show

that the namesake idea is comparatively new and probably of foreign origin. The way in which the tendency to use wholly meaningless names such as *Dosalina* or *Florinda* has spread in the last few years, shows that the deterioration may be quite rapid, but it is safe to predict that the old names derived from proverbs will show much persistence though their meaning may become obscured.

REPORT ON URBAN CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

This contribution is the full text of the Report of an official committee of inquiry that in 1943 investigated the economic, social and health conditions of Africans employed in urban areas in Southern Rhodesia.

In kindly giving us permission to publish this Report, the Minister asks us to say that his permission to do so should not be taken to imply that the Government of Southern Rhodesia is in agreement with the conclusions and recommendations of the Committee in their entirety.

The Report is prefaced by a letter to the Minister for Native Affairs, dated 27 January 1944, from the Committee, which consisted of E. G. Howman (chairman) and W. A. Carnegie and Henry W. Watt.

The letter says :—

1. We took evidence at Bulawayo, Gatooma, Gwelo, Que Que, Salisbury, Selukwe and Umtali.
2. Over one hundred and twenty witnesses—Europeans and Africans—came forward and we desire to place on record our thanks to them. A most friendly atmosphere was noticeable at every centre and the willingness to assist displayed by every witness was very pleasing. This demonstrated to a marked degree the great interest shown in our investigations.
3. A large number of memoranda was submitted and these showed that a vast amount of time and work had been spent on their preparation. We are most grateful for these invaluable documents.
4. We realise that our main recommendations are identical with those put forward by the Reverend Percy Ibbotson in his admirable "Report on a Survey of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia". As our conclusions were reached independently they are strengthened by the fact that they coincide with those of so well-known and capable an investigator as Mr. Ibbotson.

E. G. HOWMAN	Chairman.
W. A. CARNEGIE	} Members of
HENRY W. WATT	
	} Committee.

The Terms of Reference were :—

1. To inquire into and report upon the sufficiency or otherwise of the wages paid to

Africans employed in urban areas, particularly those Africans who have to provide themselves with accommodation and food out of the wages paid to them.

2. To inquire into and report upon practical means of compelling all employers of Africans in urban areas to provide such Africans with accommodation and food (or payment in lieu thereof) in addition to wages.
3. To inquire into and report upon the minimum amount which should be paid by employers to Africans employed in urban areas for their—
 - (a) monthly wage ; and
 - (b) cost of living in urban areas.
4. Generally to report upon the economic, social and health conditions of Africans in urban areas of the Colony.

WAGES

The question of a minimum wage excited more public interest than any other aspect of the Committee's enquiry. The conclusion was reached that to recommend an indiscriminate minimum wage based on an arbitrary calculation of a minimum standard of living would not only be disastrous to the economic structure of the country but would have the worst possible influence on an African population ill-equipped morally, socially, physically and in health to justify such a wage. There must be a relationship between wages and productive efficiency, which includes both the capacity and the willingness to be efficient.

2. The Committee has the utmost sympathy with African claims to higher wages, and so had the industrialists who gave evidence, but it feels that any imposition of such wages must be the last step in the series of steps it has tried to bring

out in the course of this report, otherwise there will be more exciting gambling, more flourishing prostitutes, and aggravated malnutrition and inefficiency.

3. The Committee has enjoyed the enormous advantage of having at its disposal the Report on a Survey, recently made by the Reverend Percy Ibbotson, of Urban African Conditions in Southern Rhodesia and gladly pays tribute to his painstaking work. From this exhaustive study much valuable information was drawn. Mr. Ibbotson also gave considerable evidence orally.

4. Mr. Ibbotson examined the position of 26,494 Africans in the seven larger towns of the Colony and found that—

5744 or 21.7 per cent received cash wages only.

1335 or 5.0 per cent received cash wages and food only.

1973 or 7.4 per cent received cash wages and accommodation only.

17442 or 65.9 per cent received cash wages, accommodation and food.

These figures represent a sample survey most carefully selected and may be taken as characteristic of the whole urban situation.

It is revealing to find that of the total of 26,494 which includes neither juveniles nor women, that 4,154 Africans, or 15.7 per cent were being paid less than £1 per month and 5 per cent of them were not receiving food and accommodation.

5. In the building industry in Salisbury, the Midlands and Umtali under the Industrial Conciliation Act the minimum rate for Africans is 26s. a month (1½d. an hour) and food and accommodation are supposed to be provided, but as no scale of rations has been laid down it is improbable that they are fed properly; 8s. a month may be deducted from their wages for the rations issued. In Bulawayo the minimum wage is 47s. 8d. per month (2½d. an hour) but neither food nor accommodation is provided. An extra 4s. a month as a cost of living allowance is made. Few builders who appeared before the Committee appeared to realise the economic importance of well-nourished labourers.

6. *The Committee is most unfavourably impressed by the conditions imposed on Africans under the Industrial Conciliation Act and recommends that before the scope of the Act is extended to other Africans, or present agreements are renewed, an Adviser should be appointed to represent their interests.*¹

7. It appears clearly that the bachelor African is financially far better off than the married man. In fact, if Mr. Ibbotson's calculation of £4 15s. 0d. as the average minimum monthly requirements of a man and his wife and two children is accepted then very large numbers of families must be perilously near starvation point. It has been emphasized that married men are not as liable to deficiency diseases as are bachelors. The inter-relationships between wages earned and standards of living maintained, between income and habits of spending, are much more complicated than sets of figures imply.

8. The Committee has explored every avenue whereby the financial position of the married man may be directly improved but without success. His position is very difficult, especially those earning less than £3 a month; he must rent a room while the bachelor crowds in with others and shares the rent, a ration such as that laid down by the Mining Law cannot be purchased at retail rates for less than 15s. a month and he has many other economic responsibilities from which the bachelor is free.

9. It appears perfectly easy to meet the claims of those in favour of a minimum wage by laying down that a married man shall receive a wage substantially in excess of that paid to the single man, but some of the repercussions to this are obvious: the unskilled married labourer would find it difficult to procure employment in competition with the bachelor, and those not worth the minimum wage would probably be discharged. If any method of enforcing it successfully were evolved every bachelor would seek to provide himself with a Marriage Certificate and add confusion to an already confused system of "marriage" relationships.

¹ This paragraph, and others italicised, are emphasized in the original document.—Editors.

10. Employers were almost unanimous in their replies to questions on this subject: "We pay a man for the value of the work he does, we are not concerned with his wife and family". This is of course a typical employer-like answer but an unwise view to take when skill, efficiency and reliability are important, as they are becoming in secondary industries. It was the manager of one of these new industries who replied: "We encourage married men. In industry we must have continuity of service. There is such a lot of training involved that we cannot afford to lose a Native if he is good". It is certain that the married man living with his family is the steady, long-time worker; the bachelor is always irresponsible, here today and gone tomorrow, attracted to the "shebeen", and the bane of the employer's life with his absenteeism. It will be impossible to build up an efficient, reliable, first-class labour force out of the vagrant bachelor. In the absence of the married man, industry cannot expect to compete with the products of other countries.

11. *The Committee feels that it can only recommend to the Government that it make enquiries into the subject of marriage allowances being paid from Public Revenue to African workers in Urban Areas when the whole system of social security is under consideration.*

12. There is an attitude prevailing among employers themselves which deserves comment. In many cases wages are increased not for efficiency or better work performed but for the length of time an African serves. It has become almost customary to increase wages every three months by 2s. 6d. a month. It is obvious that such a system which gives no encouragement to the good worker to improve his financial position is wrong, and amongst the numerous Africans who appeared before the Committee only one correlated the amount of pay received with the value of the services performed.

13. One important fact does emerge from Mr. Ibbotson's figures—that 15.7 per cent of those in his sample survey are drawing less than £1 per month and we feel that this is exploitation of labour by a certain class of employer, European, Asiatic and African. It can only be possible

where the job involves so little work that it is sheer waste of labour and inefficiency in the town, or where the ignorance of some raw recruit leads him to accept, or where a visitor from the reserve is anxious to earn some specific sum such as his tax and then return home. This last possibility, of the rural dweller being able to accept a less wage and so depress urban wage rates, must be faced. The same consideration applies to the juveniles who wander about accepting wages of 5s. to 12s. 6d. a month and learning all the wrong ideas about what good service means.

14. *The Committee therefore recommends that a minimum wage of 20s. per month should be imposed which will apply to all African workers, men, women and juveniles, in the Urban and Commonage Areas, with food (to be laid down) and accommodation supplied by the employer.*

15. This minimum wage will give protection against the casual, inefficient rural visitor; lead to more efficient use of labour by certain employers; prevent exploitation; link up with the "compulsory education" recommendation by preventing the employment of juveniles; and lastly, provide a floor above which wages would be encouraged to rise by the proposed Master and Servant's Registry.

16. *The Committee considers that the time has arrived when a Wage Act on the lines of that already in force in the Union of South Africa and Northern Rhodesia should be enacted in this Colony. Enactment of such legislation is a matter of urgency and importance.*

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

Urban Native Policy.

17. The Land Apportionment Act of 1931, which was later redesigned in 1941, introduced a policy of semi-segregation which at the time appeared to be most just and reasonable but economic pressures both in the Native Areas and in the urban cut across Native Policy, with the result that male African labourers have thronged to the urban areas in their thousands.

18. Segregation has assigned to these labourers a purely temporary, make-shift existence in the urban area; the very words "Location" and

"Compound" are expressive of the theory which visualizes "homes" and "communities" as something to be associated only with the Native Reserves to which the labourer was expected to return. As the years have passed experience has increasingly overridden this relief, but the failure to adapt to changed conditions is manifested in the serious inadequacy of governmental and municipal services and administration in urban areas.

19. A major problem has therefore been created and it must be faced and overcome, for the development of Secondary Industries is intensifying all the most virulent trends in the situation.

20. African life in the urban areas can be characterised as casual and precarious and nourished by roots that go no deeper than the daily contingencies of living; community life has been shattered; the family suppressed. Men have left their villages and failed to return over long periods, deterioration of the natural resources of the reserves has inevitably led to an exodus to labour centres and vast numbers of labourers from beyond our borders have been attracted here. As a result, an abnormal social structure has been erected in which there is an overwhelming preponderance of men, an almost complete absence of old age and the moderation and guidance old age provides, and a coming and going which cuts away the roots of every association, society and personal leadership that might crystallise out of the fluid mass of the irresponsible 18-35 age group. Visualising this induces the reflection that the African has been remarkably law-abiding and well-behaved.

21. A principal feature of urban life over the past few years has been the startling increase in the number of women flocking to the towns. Wives, deserted by their husbands, follow them up; young wives, presented with an easy way of escape from the traditional authority of husbands, run off to town without hesitation; girls in great numbers break away from their families to sample the glitter of the urban areas. Inevitably innumerable domestic arrangements of varying degrees of permanency are set up in addition to

commercialised vice centres, prostitution and illicit beer brewing.

22. Into this social chaos and conflict of many different tribal customs, children, legitimate and illegitimate, are being reared; others, hasty of discipline, run away from homes to the freedom of the towns and others are permitted by wearied parents to live and earn as they please.

23. In this general disintegration of all traditional controls the urban African has gained a freedom indistinguishable from licence, freedom for almost every momentary impulse, but has lost all direction save the external control of law and regulation.

24. Segregation has not only tended to suppress family life, but to place most strenuous obstacles in the way of those who have sought to set up homes in the urban areas and the consequences ramify into every field of the economic, industrial, moral and social order. Perhaps such unnatural conditions are an inevitable phase in the quick transition from a simple peasantry to an urban proletariat but the tragedy lies in the failure to appreciate the grave need to provide the fullest possible community facilities, housing and educational machinery that would make possible the growth of a natural family, community and social urban life. Evidence is not lacking that given such facilities and control the African does respond and there is no reason whatever why in time an urban culture with its own standards, civic consciousness, leadership and spontaneous controls should not emerge.

25. It is against this background, so briefly sketched above, that the Committee desire its recommendations to be placed and to urge the serious necessity for co-ordinated planning and deliberate control of urban life. The European, by his demands for labour, is responsible for the uprooting of the old traditional standards of African life; on him, therefore, devolves the responsibility of re-creating new standards in the hearts, minds and actions of the people; he cannot expect such standards to materialise from a policy of *laissez faire*, nor from the narrow confines of a classroom, courthouse, or gaol.

26. *The Committee therefore feels that it cannot over-emphasise the paramount importance of focusing urban Native policy on the provision and maintenance of homes.*

This means the acquisition and setting aside of adequate Urban Native Areas and Village Settlements wherever urban conditions develop; the planning and design of villages or towns with adequate houses, allotment areas and all the apparatus necessary for the achievement of health, education and civic consciousness. It also means the recognition of the importance of groups of families cohering into community wholes and so avoiding an indiscriminate and unwieldy mass of population unresponsive to the processes of social self-control.

Hostels for Women.

27. *The Committee recommends the erection of hostels for African women in all Urban Areas.*

Their numbers are already considerable and many are visiting town for legitimate purposes. The absence of accommodation save where employers provide a room must drive those without relatives to lead an immoral life and thereby secure accommodation. The only method whereby they may be safe-guarded to some extent is the provision of hostels. Certain rules and regulations would have to be imposed on them and the direct supervision of a European Woman Superintendent, most carefully selected, would be imperative, but the greatest care would be necessary to avoid regimentation and the routine of a concentration camp. Such a hostel might advisably be associated with an employment bureau and the provision of academic and domestic education as well as recreation.

Juveniles.

28. Africans are unanimous in the opinion that juveniles should not be allowed to work or wander freely in towns, and this view is supported by almost all European witnesses. Senior Officers of the Police are most emphatic that nothing could be worse for juveniles, morally, mentally and physically, than the undisciplined life of a town and that the future criminals of the Colony are emerging from such juveniles.

29. Juvenile delinquency, the "broken home" and lack of parental discipline have been proved to be inter-related in other countries. We dare not ignore their experience.

30. *The Committee recommends that additional undenominational schools be established at the earliest possible date; that these schools and their equipment be free and that education for all juveniles of ages eight to fifteen within the Urban Areas, including the commonages, be made compulsory.*

Where evidence of age cannot be procured the opinion of the Native Commissioner shall be accepted as final.

31. It would be advisable to consider the possibility of linking this compulsory education with the development of a probationary service attached to the Courts, for the number of Africans being sentenced to imprisonment is a problem of grave concern.

HEALTH

Family Life.

32. The fundamental failure to plan for family life is again evident in our consideration of the health of urban Africans. Venereal diseases are rife and whatever medical inspection and treatment may be imposed they cannot be expected to cope with a situation in which stable family life is almost impossible. Malnutrition and deficiency diseases are particularly evident amongst the industrialised bachelor labourers, who are the worst sufferers. They have never been taught to cook, they tend to skimp the preparation of properly cooked food and after the day's work lack the time and energy necessary in the preparation of all those extras with which a wife makes her meals appetising and nutritive. Family life also implies separate living establishments, not to mention the care and cleanliness devoted to their homes by most women whose "house pride" stands out in remarkable contrast to the unhygienic filth of single quarters. The present over-crowding of single men and women into confined quarters is a prime factor in the spread of tuberculosis.

Over-crowding.

33. Africans employed in the urban areas are very largely dependent on the action of the local authorities for their health. When the local authorities neglect their elementary duties, ill-health inevitably increases. The danger of over-crowding in the Locations, in the rooms provided for domestic servants, or in private compounds, is a very real one. Lack of accommodation is not a sudden growth but has been steadily increasing over many years. Conditions are particularly bad where congestion is greatest and the local authorities are responsible. Industries are encouraged to start and are springing up in the areas set aside for them, but no thought and no provision is made for the African workers employed there. The scarcity of houses is not due to the war but arises out of a short-sighted and unsocial view of industrial progress extending over many years.

Malnutrition.

34. Medical evidence given to the Committee is almost unanimous in stating that malnutrition is seriously prevalent everywhere in the urban areas, particularly amongst the factory (labourer) class. Domestic servants are generally well fed because the nature of their duties does not make the same physical demands on them, and the kitchen, legitimately and illegitimately, provides a variety of foodstuffs. This widespread malnutrition is due to inadequate rations, to ignorance of what constitutes proper nutrition and tribal prejudices, to the intestinal parasites of bilharzia, hookworm, etc., and the general absence of any facilities for the urban dweller to acquire cheap, properly cooked meals and those foods whose fresh greenness are so essential to health. Scurvy has appeared in Bulawayo during the dry season and pellagra has increased in Umtali.

Bilharzia and Hookworm.

35. These intestinal diseases are seriously prevalent, more especially in the urban areas of the well-watered towns. Several medical witnesses estimated that probably 70 per cent of African workers, particularly the Northern immigrant labourers, are infected; one medical

witness put it as high as 90 per cent for hookworm, and another commented "Most cases of lazy Natives are due to hookworm, bilharzia or chronic malaria".

Venereal Diseases.

36. From the evidence produced to the Committee it is apparent that the incidence of venereal diseases amongst all classes of Africans residing within the urban areas is one of the major problems confronting the medical authorities. Outward signs of syphilis are readily overcome and as a result of propaganda and voluntary attendance by sufferers the Municipal Medical Services in the larger towns are doing an immense amount of good. This voluntary system is largely supported by the Pass Officer who insists on a medical examination prior to the issue of a contract of service (Town Pass), but there are many evasions of the law. The Committee which is recommended for appointment in paragraph 82 should study this matter. In some areas where full time medical service is not available, the examination of African servants is most haphazard.

37. To add to the difficulties of the Municipal Medical Services is the problem of supervising the females employed in domestic services. Under existing conditions it is most difficult for a girl to avoid infection of syphilis and/or gonorrhoea. If employed as a nurse-girl she may well infect her charges. There is provision in existing laws, when applied to a municipal area, for every urban African in employment to be examined every six months. No figures are available as to the number of domestics who manage to avoid examination but it is safe to conclude that the figures are large.

38. The avoidance of medical examination is connived at by far too many mistresses since nurse-girls will often only accept employment provided they are not sent to the doctor. Possibly in dire need of a nurse and utterly ignorant of the danger to her children, the mistress agrees.

39. *The action of mistresses in becoming a party to the evasion of medical examination and thus endangering their children should be treated as a menace to the community. The Committee recom-*

mends that a penalty of £10 be imposed on the head of any household in which an African is thus employed without first having passed a medical examination
Tuberculosis.

40. Much evidence has been received as to the increase of tuberculosis among Africans whose resistance to this dangerous disease is not only very slight, but is weakened so much by malnutrition and deficiency diseases that few can survive its attack.

41. Nothing could be more conducive to the spread of this disease than existing conditions in the larger towns of the Colony where it is not an uncommon sight to find kitchens used to sleep in, verandahs covered in and used as sleeping quarters, six to eight people crowding into rooms intended for four and congestion everywhere in insanitary rooms where ventilation spaces have been blocked up in winter, and remain so in summer. Fresh air into such places can only penetrate with difficulty.

42. The Medical Officers of Health are well aware of the menace of tuberculosis and that conditions in the locations and on private stands are conducive to the rapid spread of this fell disease but, owing to the lack of accommodation in the urban areas and failure to build on an adequate mass-production scale with ample spacing, they can do nothing and tuberculosis has, as one medical witness put it, "become one of the commonest diseases".

43. Sufferers from tuberculosis are admitted into Government hospitals and receive treatment but little or nothing can be done for them, so, in course of time, they are sent to their homes. A greater menace to the community than these unfortunates when they arrive at their villages could hardly be imagined. *It is clear that this should be immediately stopped and provision made whereby sufferers could be cared for and isolated in natural village-like surroundings such as have been developed with great success at Ngomahuru Leprosy Settlement; a type of farm sanatorium.*

Government Native Hospitals.

44. The Committee feels it necessary to offer quotations from evidence received from medical

men as to conditions in the Salisbury and Bulawayo Native Hospitals and to observe that attention has been called repeatedly to these conditions for many years and that the excuse of lack of "£.s.d." cannot be maintained when magnificent public buildings are there to express a standard of values that obviously rates health too low in the scale.

"In the Bulawayo Native Hospital the conditions are perfectly appalling. In Salisbury conditions are said to be not better but not quite so bad as in Bulawayo. The sick are laid in bed, under beds, between beds, anywhere where room can be found, they sleep on the floor. The congestion is so great that in many cases patients who are unfit to leave are discharged to make room for more serious cases".

"The Bulawayo hospital is utterly impossible, the buildings are totally inadequate and the staff totally inadequate. It could be remedied perfectly easily, it is purely a matter of £.s.d. The Hospital has gone from bad to worse, it is a disgrace, a howling disgrace".

No doubt the overwhelming incidence of disease is partially responsible for this state of affairs and remedial measures lie in the prevention of malnutrition and in insanitary over-crowding.

FOOD

45. The Committee has been particularly struck by the complete ignorance and lack of interest displayed by so many employers as to the manner in which their workers feed themselves; they appeared to be unconscious of the fact that an under-fed, malnourished man is quite incapable of performing a good day's work and that the African does not know how to feed himself up to European standards of energy. When asked what rations they issued the reply was, "Oh, the usual ration", and when questioned further added, "some meal, salt and 6d. a week for meat"—and then they hold forth on "the damned lazy nigger who won't work"!

46. This attitude of the man-in-the-street is due to unthinking ignorance. To combat it, propaganda by pamphlets, lectures and wireless talks to the public is essential.

47. On the other hand the Committee has

been equally struck by the study which some employers have given to improving the efficiency of their labourers and the extraordinary results which proper feeding has achieved. One witness stated that having insisted on a breakfast and a scientifically prepared lunch eaten on the premises he had been able to dispense with half his labour force and maintain the same output as he did when no rations were supplied.

48. Many employers give their servants a sum of money in lieu of rations. Africans who gave evidence expressed their satisfaction with this arrangement. There is something to be said for this, provided the sum is adequate, and, more important, that it is spent on proper nourishment. Where the African is of a mature age and has learned to spend his money wisely there is no doubt that this system works well, but nothing could be worse for the remainder than to treat them in this way. Susceptibility to temptations, gambling, women and the attractions of the store, as well as a general reluctance to spending money on food, furnish a background that must condemn any such scheme of money in lieu of rations.

49. *The Committee strongly recommends that a balanced minimum scale of rations be laid down and that it be made obligatory on all employers in urban and commonage areas to provide their African employees with such rations.*

50. It is realised that difficulties of detail will arise out of this recommendation, if accepted, but the nutritional situation is so vitally important that such difficulties must be over-ruled, and provision should be made for employer and servant, by mutual agreement, to contract out of the law if approved by the Native Commissioner (Labour Officer), who shall satisfy himself that the cash in lieu of rations is adequate and that the African is of the type deserving of such consideration, or that the particular circumstances of employment render rationing extremely difficult.

51. We have already pointed out that the bachelor is the greatest sufferer from malnutrition but there are wives, single women and children, and many men, who would fall outside the rationing system, so it is most essential to supplement it with another source of nutrition.

52. *The Committee therefore recommends the institution of municipal eating houses, not only in the locations but in the towns where scientifically compounded and carefully cooked meals of high protective value, milk and orange juice could be purchased, at subsidised prices. In lieu of rations a coupon system might be evolved whereby employers could buy and issue coupons to their employees which would entitle them to a meal at any municipal eating house.*

53. The Salisbury Municipality is to be commended for the initiative it has taken in this direction by providing a hall in the location where meals are sold at sub-economic prices. But it is noted that the costs are met from profits made out of the Africans themselves.

54. Another most excellent scheme in force in Salisbury, Bulawayo and Gatooma locations is the provision of milk for Africans. Until these schemes were started it is probable that location dwellers saw very little milk from one year's end to another. These also are sub-economic schemes and paid for by the African from beer-hall profits.

55. *These Municipal feeding schemes should be closely associated with the compulsory educational centres and provision made for every child to receive free milk and a mid-day meal. The ingredients of these meals must be carefully selected as part of a plan to educate the African in what he should eat.*

56. It is appreciated that the execution and administration of these feeding schemes will throw heavy financial burdens on the Government and Municipal Treasuries, but apart from the enormous benefits in health which will flow to the African, and the parallel advantages that will accrue to industry in contentment and efficiency, is the national aspect of a Planned Consumption stimulating and reviving primary production throughout the Colony. Selfish vested interests under a plea of "private enterprise" must not be allowed to stand in the way of building so profound and essential a platform of health.

Kafir Beer.

57. Bound up with nutrition and health is Kafir Beer. Nearly every medical man giving evidence has emphasized the importance of beer

in combating malnutrition. "If a boy is sick we give him a daily ration of beer in the hospital and it helps tremendously" was a typical comment.

58. Municipal Councils have set up Beer Halls in the locations but charge such exorbitant prices that it is only the wealthier who can afford to buy. The usual justification given for such prices is the measure of prohibition they impose but the dangerous increase in illicit and powerful alcoholic brews, such as "skokiaan", which thrive financially under the protection of such high prices, is unheeded. The common opinion that cases of drunkenness are due to Municipal beer arises from ignorance of the facility with which illicit brews can be obtained. It is obvious that a state of semi-prohibition is brought about when a man earning 6d. to 8d. a day is confronted with beer priced at 6d. a cup, and it is the poorer class in which the most obvious sufferers from lack of vitamin B and C are to be found. Beer can only be obtained in the Municipal Location, except in mining centres, so all those who reside some distance away are debarred from participating except at week-ends.

59. Beer can be and is made at a price within 4½d. to 6½d. a gallon and it is sold for 2s. a gallon, a profit to beer halls in the neighbourhood of 300 per cent to 400 per cent. Some municipalities put the costs of production in the vicinity of 1s. 6d. per gallon. This may well be, but it is obvious there is mismanagement somewhere. If brewing and sale are not closely supervised speculation must be suspected. These profits are so enormous that Councillors have admitted publicly that they are an inconvenience. The Bulawayo Council has in the past seven years taken a gross sum of £161,845 from sales of beer and of this £112,796 was pure profit. Had the Africans been given value for their money it is probable that malnutrition in the city would not have reached the extreme that it now has.

60. The municipalities of Salisbury, Gatooma and Selukwe refused to give the Committee any information regarding the profits made or as to their disposal. There is no reason, however, to suppose that the Africans in those places are not

being treated in a similar manner to those in Bulawayo.

61. The Committee has had the advantage of studying the 1942 report of the Commission appointed in the Union of South Africa to enquire into the use and supply of Kafir Beer. Conditions in Southern Rhodesia are very similar to those in the Union, but on a much smaller scale. The following are significant extracts from that report:—

Para. 19: "The illicit trade which is carried on today has grown largely as the result of the attempt to enforce prohibition".

Para. 22: "The development of quickly manufactured drinks of high alcoholic content has been one of the most disastrous results of the prohibition of beer".

Para. 61: "It is an accepted fact, borne out by the evidence, that the illicit liquor vendors gather a coterie of young females to assist in the disposal of their brews. The spread of venereal disease is largely due to the intercourse which takes place at their shebeens".

Para. 93: The Commission comments on "the tendency of Municipalities to exploit beer hall profits".

Para. 99: "There is much substance in the Native's complaint that the high cost of beer was one of the main incentives to brew illicitly".

"The cost of beer ranges from 5d. to 7d. per gallon".

Para. 107: "It is recommended that a reasonable selling price would be 1s. per gallon".

62. Semi-prohibition does exist in all urban areas. It therefore follows, if the Union report be accepted, that municipalities, by their excessive charges and lack of proper distribution, are the indirect cause of—

(a) Illicit brewing.

(b) The growth of the manufacture of drinks of high alcoholic content such as skokiaan and the acquisition of a taste among the Africans for such harmful brews.

(c) The encouragement of prostitution, the emergence of centres of vice round the

"skokiaan queens" and the consequent spread of venereal diseases.

(d) Malnutrition.

63. *The Committee recommends—*

1. *That legislation should be enacted to control the selling price of kafir beer, and that the maximum selling price of kafir beer should not exceed 25 per cent on cost.*
2. *That local and other authorities when expending beer hall profits should primarily take cognizance of the need for subsidised food and milk schemes to assist in overcoming malnutrition in Urban Areas.*

HOUSING

64. There is a great shortage of accommodation for Africans in the locations, in all the towns and also in the Village Settlements of Highfield and Luveve. Overcrowding is met with everywhere and householders are constantly in difficulty trying to find somewhere for their servants to live. The result is that Africans squeeze into what rooms they can find, seek out all kinds of shelters about the towns and "married" couples share rooms with bachelors.

65. The Municipal health authorities would willingly condemn certain places if other accommodation were available but under present conditions this is impossible. Location Superintendents have waiting lists that include hundreds of applicants and it takes sometimes many months, waiting before a man can procure accommodation.

66. *The Committee was informed that the Government was willing to loan funds to necessitous municipalities at a rate of 4½ per cent. This has to be repaid in a short space of years. The committee is of opinion that the Government should re-consider its decision as to this rate of interest and should grant sub-economic loans covering a period of thirty years.*

67. In Salisbury and Gwelo only European artisans are allowed to build in the location; in all other municipalities African artisans are employed. There appears to be no justification for highly paid European artisans to be employed to build houses for Africans within an African area. Various excuses are offered for this, in particular

that the African is slow and his work poor. This is countered by the fact that many farm houses, thousands of tobacco barns, grading sheds, etc., throughout the Colony have been erected by Africans.

68. *There is no justification whatever for the view that African artisans could not erect buildings in the locations. The committee strongly recommend the employment of Africans under competent European supervision for this work.*

69. Accommodation for Africans is being erected throughout the urban centres and one cannot but be struck by the diversity of types to be seen. Costs of erection vary considerably and so does the lay-out of rooms. It was noticeable that few municipalities could (or would) tell the Committee exactly what the costs of erection were for any particular type of building. The Committee was greatly struck by the plans produced to it by the Government Town Planning Officer.

70. *It appears to the Committee that pooling of information regarding the various types of houses might well be undertaken; a small African housing committee being set up to correlate all information and to recommend a standard type of building.*

71. The speeding-up of building is urgently demanded in the interests of both European and African, and the Government should assist by every means in its power, both in the acquisition and provision of land where necessary, in the provision of funds and in the planning of proper towns and villages. The industrialization of the African has set in and he must be housed properly if secondary industries are to be a success. The bachelors may perhaps be housed in a location, but the married man should be provided with a cottage with land available for garden lots.

ECONOMIC

Social Attitudes as they influence Economic Status.

72. More properly a social situation, but so intimately associated with the economic position of the African as to justify consideration here, is the disintegration of customary codes of behaviour and manners, and the widespread failure to absorb those moral standards on which master-servant

relationships, industrial efficiency and community progress depend.

73. Only in exceptional cases has the African attained any consciousness of efficiency and the need for it, any sense of censure for idleness and of "the dignity of labour", any appreciation of the monetary value of time, and the binding moral nature of a contract of service is something alien to his whole background. But apart from these deficiencies in his traditional attitudes, whose design was naturally never evolved to meet urban industrial conditions, there has emerged a generation of Africans confused by contradictory behaviour patterns, deprived of the self-control which deeply laid family discipline and standards bequeath, moving uneasily and suspiciously in a business world that is ruled over by a sense of urgency, productive efficiency, *quid pro quo* and punctuality demanded by intertwined time engagements. As a result of the strain imposed on them a spirit of irresponsibility, mistrust and misunderstanding is growing; household relationships are often corroded by worry, bitterness and disillusionment; industry by malingering, unreliability and the need for vigilant supervision.

74. The transition from one type of life to another so different must inevitably give rise to this state of affairs but what is culpable is our failure to recognise it as a transitional phase which deserves all the social or educational machinery we can bring to bear on it. Instead our segregation policy prolongs it by endeavouring to keep the African a tribal peasant, in a peasant's home with haphazard peasant standards and attitudes, with an occasional spell in industry; a chameleon-like change to meet the regime of town life and efficiency. The change is impossible and industry is loud in its complaints about the service rendered by the African—not only Europeans but even responsible old Africans of many years' service in the towns gave evidence as to the refractory character of so many employees.

75. The root of the situation lies in our failure to appreciate the importance of the family, and it is certain that until we cater for family and community life in an urban environment we cannot expect industrial and urban standards to emerge,

except the superficial and unpleasant standards which we now impose by force of law and punishment, and we throw a burden of patience and forbearance on employers which only the very best of them can carry.

76. Another contributory factor is the chaotic state of employment and the absence of any controlling organisation whereby the good servant can be distinguished from the bad, malpractices punished and good services rewarded. As an educational influence of first importance it is essential for the reliable and trustworthy African to be distinguished from the professional thief, the truculent waster and the general riff-raff of the town.

77. The position is obviously unfair to both the employer and the first-class servant, who is indistinguishable from the others. In order to enable the former to pay the high wages they are only too willing to pay for good service, and the latter to obtain the high wages to which they are clearly entitled,—

78. *The Committee strongly recommends that Native labour officers be appointed by Government in Bulawayo and Salisbury as soon as possible and that similar appointments be made in other centres as soon as conditions justify it.*

79. The Labour Officer, who should be attached to the Department of Native Affairs, should be men of a certain age and experience not liable to be lightly transferred and able to rise in the salary scale to the highest rank in the Department. They should have complete control over all labour within the commonage borders and also over prospective employees, and would have the power to forbid the entry of those not required and the expulsion of those considered unfit to be in the town.

80. Their offices should develop the "Servants Registry" system whereby employers and employees could be placed in touch with each other. Card systems would be instituted and records kept of the abilities and characters of both masters and servants. It is thought that the adoption of this method would vastly improve the position of the better-class workers who would be readily identified. The effect would be far-

reaching as wages would rise for those with first-class characters, and as the inferior worker realised that an increase in wages depended largely on his personal efforts, he would tend to improve. The loafers, card-sharpers and those who live on their wits would be ordered out of town, with the consequent improvement in the finances and morals of the others.

81. It must be most carefully borne in mind that the interests of employers and employed are almost identical and the institution of a system of of this nature will tend to overcome what difficulties now exist. It will be somewhat expensive, but this may be readily overcome by increasing the charge for the "Town Pass" from 1s. to whatever amount is required. Employers, who are directly responsible for the influx of Africans to the towns, should ungrudgingly pay such a sum.

82. The Committee feels that it can only lay down the general principle and suggests that a committee of Native Affairs officials, and others, who have the necessary insight into details and are perfectly aware of the urban situation, be set up to evolve a scheme of control whereby the present "Town Pass" system, which is a most clumsy and irritating law, would evolve into a much more effective system of compulsory registration. There would be no suggestion of forced labour nor over-persuasion in placing servants, but a link would be established between employer and employee enabling them to negotiate their own terms, and that would eliminate the present casual and time-wasting search for work, the ignorance concerning skill and character and the bitterness in race-relationships that has come into existence of late years.

83. Another contributory influence at present at work is the failure of the Masters and Servants Act and criminal proceedings to exercise the close control that is necessary. Legal technicalities and formal procedure in a Magistrate's Court are unable to penetrate the delicate dislocations and disturbances of a household. The European has a healthy distaste for having his private affairs exposed to official enquiry—the average housewife shies off at the very notion of "Court"—but any excuse, suitably embellished, will justify an

African's visit to the "office". So the employer allows his staff to "get away with it" rather than insisting on his rights and even when driven to seeking legal protection, finds that attendance at Court is fraught with such waste of time that it is cheaper to let a servant have the few shillings involved in the dispute.

84. Because of this situation the African finds that he can defy his employers with impunity if it suits his purpose and the Native Affairs Department has found itself more and more compelled to interfere and assume the burden of discipline without any legal authority for doing so. On the other hand a gang of Africans may strike and each striker be prosecuted and convicted for desertion or "refusing to work". Yet their employment conditions may be such as morally to justify going on strike.

85. *The Committee therefore recommends that jurisdiction be granted to the labour officers to enquire into all matters of dispute between masters and servants and that only when the labour officer refers the matter to the formal processes of the law should the case go before the magistrate's court.*

86. We have examined the mental environment in which the African as a worker lives and noted the absence of machinery for the moulding of habits and attitudes essential for economic progress. We have recommended steps to counteract this, steps we consider to be of immediate importance as educational influences, but the field of formal education merits some attention here.

87. Too much in education is expected from mere book learning, but a routine of daily industrious habits is a foundation upon which all other education must be built. The modern generation of Africans is impatient of discipline and correction, too quickly do they leave employers and parents who interfere too much. They are left to "pick up" an education that will enable them to live in the urban environment, usually at the cost of infinite bitterness to themselves, to their unfortunate employers and in racial prejudices on both sides. The number of good employees there are is a double tribute—to the employers whose patience and interest taught them, to the pupils

who were willing to learn and endure the lecturing necessary.

88. *The Committee recommends that vocational courses and domestic training classes be organised in the urban areas, and that a certificate of efficiency be issued to those successfully completing the courses.*

MISCELLANEOUS

Non-indigenous Tax.

89. The non-indigenous non-contracted African labourer is of such great importance to the economic fabric of urban development, not to mention the countryside, that he merits special consideration. Many thousands of them enter the Colony every year and having remained here twelve months become liable to pay a sum of 20s. per head for tax. The average worker completes nine tickets in those twelve months and draws a wage from 15s. to £1 per ticket as a start. He is taxed practically an eighth of his income.

90. *The Committee is of the opinion that under existing conditions the imposition of this tax is an extreme hardship and economically most unsound. It recommends its abolition.*

Marketing Board.

91. Whilst the Africans in the towns, and there are some 50,000 of them within the commonages of Salisbury and Bulawayo alone, are suffering from a shortage of proper food, the Africans in the reserves have a super-abundance of all kinds, which never reaches the towns. This is of course largely due to lack of the means of distribution. Under existing conditions the African living remote from towns or mines has no inducement to either produce crops or vegetables, fruit, etc., as there is no market for such produce. The "Trader" pays cash for maize only, for all other produce he barter clothing, blankets and so on, giving in exchange for a sack of grain what he calls ten shillings worth of trade goods, actually worth about six to seven shillings.

92. This system of trading acts as a deterrent to the production of food-stuffs and goes even further than that, as when the African farmer has exchanged sufficient grain to satisfy his requirements the surplus of his crop never comes on the market. There is a ready market for the sale of

all produce in all centres where industries are in active operation. A co-operative system would appear to be one method of coping with this problem.

The Committee recommends that a marketing Board should be set up to deal with this matter which it considers is one of the highest importance.

Vital Statistics.

93. The Committee has been conscious of working in the dark throughout much of its enquiries; evidence submitted to it had to fall back on vague generalization, and it has become abundantly clear that no true picture of conditions as they exist, nor real knowledge of moving trends, will be available until proper vital statistics about the African population are compiled. The vital planning that is called for cannot be founded on guesses.

94. *The Committee recommends that a nutrition survey be instituted at an early date.*

Propaganda.

95. The Committee has noted an impressive amount of misunderstanding between Europeans and Africans in their contractual relationships, and a general ignorance on both sides concerning the point of view and mode of life of the other. There has been a serious failure to appreciate and harness the power of modern propaganda as an instrument to break down prejudices and to present the facts upon which sound views and enlightened race relationships can be founded. It recommends the provision of radios in the centres of African urban life to instruct, entertain and communicate matters of immediate interest, such as new regulations, infectious diseases and preventive measures, the penalties exacted by syphilis, demands for labour and the like. The wireless talk, the lecture and the pamphlets should also be in constant use for the enlightenment of the European on African affairs, for the employer is probably the greatest educational or disturbing influence on the African and it is imperative that he should appreciate the significance of his views and actions and the elementary causes of ill-health, inefficiency, etc. There is a genuine and quite widespread interest and sympathy among

Europeans that would respond to such a programme.

The venereal diseases films of the Social Hygiene Council are propaganda of a most valuable nature.

CONCLUSION

96. To some it may appear that the Committee has overportrayed a disordered and confused world in which there is a constant struggle with disease, poverty, industrial difficulties and social disorganization. The realities of what is so unconcernedly called "the Native problem" require to be faced not only by those who give hardly a thought to the problem and react with prejudice, but also by those whose humanitarian

assumptions lead them astray into wishful thinking.

The sudden transmutation of a simple tribal people into a modern industrialised community is full of complexities and ugly currents of change; it cannot take place without an abnormal degree of social and personal demoralization; the disruption of the old is a necessary preliminary to the emergence of the new, but if we see in it the opportunity to stimulate, mould and discipline the slow processes of reorganization and renewal which are already in action, there is no reason whatever why sound, healthy, efficient and prosperous urban African communities should not be built up.

THE PRACTICE OF LOBOLO IN NATAL

H. C. LUGG

Lobolo is the subject of my address¹ because, notwithstanding its importance in Native life, the real significance of the practice is but imperfectly understood by the average European.

Lobolo was defined by the Native Laws and Customs Commission of 1883 as being—

“a contract between the father and the intended husband of his daughter by which the father promises his consent to the marriage of his daughter, and to protect her in case of necessity either during or after marriage and by which in return he obtains from the husband valuable consideration partly for such consent and partly as a guarantee by the husband of his good character towards his daughter as his wife. Such a contract does not imply the compulsory marriage of the woman. It is not a contract of purchase and sale.”

This definition is, however, far from complete, failing, as it does, to take into account some of the most important features of the custom. Emphasis has been laid on the obligations imposed on the father or guardian to protect his ward in case of need, and the duty of a husband towards his wife; but these obligations are implied in all marriage contracts irrespective of whether lobolo figures in the transaction or not. In passing it might be mentioned that section 78 of the Natal Code of Native Law imposes an obligation on the father or guardian to take his ward under his protection in the event of divorce proceedings being instituted.

By many lobolo is regarded as being confined to the actual payment, but this is not, of course, correct. The Natives themselves have always appreciated the wider implications of the term, and, to avoid confusion, invariably refer to the cattle actually handed over in payment as *amabeka*.

The effects of a lobolo transaction are not confined to contracting parties but extend to members of the family on both sides... because, apart from

the change occasioned in family relations by the marriage, certain pecuniary interests and obligations arise which involve quite a number of persons not directly bound by the marriage contract, e.g. by the custom of affiliation and the regulation of status. The daughter of the chief house is married off and her lobolo used to establish a second house, which is affiliated to the house of the chief wife in order to provide the latter against the failure of male issue. The child of such an affiliated union, if a male, would in such circumstances succeed as heir not only to the house of the chief wife but to its own.

Account must also be taken of the souls of the dead relatives who are regarded as close inmates of the kraal, and, for this reason, must not be excluded from the picture. This aspect will be more fully dealt with when the all important religious side of the question is touched upon.

The payment of lobolo constitutes a token or symbol providing proof of the ratification of the marriage contract, and although the transaction cannot be regarded as one of purchase and sale, it nevertheless represents compensation for the loss of the woman's services in her father's home, and for this reason must be regarded as its most important feature. She must be replaced by cattle or other value which will in turn be made available for the acquisition of another woman as a wife for one of the inmates of the kraal. The term covers a wide field and for this reason is difficult to define, but I would prefer to regard it as being *the consideration received by the father or guardian of a woman in exchange for his ward on her marriage, symbolising the implementation of the marriage compact, and as making compensation for the loss of her services.*

Though the official definition expressly denies that the lobolo contract implies the compulsory marriage of the woman, it must not be overlooked that a certain element of compulsion has, in the past, been inherent in Zulu society. Coercion

¹ Substance of an address delivered to the students of the Natal University College in April 1943.

has always featured in Native marriages. It was recognised in the Zulu military system under which young women were formed into groups and married off *en bloc* to regiments to which they had been specially allocated by sanction of the Zulu King. We are constantly meeting with cases even at the present time of young women being compelled to marry some old man for the sake of the cattle to be derived from the union. The position became so bad that in 1869 Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs, found it necessary to issue his notable proclamation for the regulation of Native marriages and to fix lobolo payments. This proclamation was, in fact, the first attempt to codify Native law, and most of its provisions are to be found in the present Natal Native Code.

The Rev. J. Döhne, who compiled our first Zulu dictionary—and a very fine work it was—states that lobolo was primarily a payment for the bereavement or loss occasioned to the bride's mother. As to the correctness or otherwise of this statement, I am unable to speak with certainty, but Döhne was certainly in a better position to ascertain the underlying basis of the custom than we are today. Support can be found for his assertion in the fact that even now the bride's mother always receives what is known as the *ingquthu* beast (regarded as her personal property), as a compassionate fee in consideration of the pain suffered by her in bringing her child into the world. The word *ingquthu* means the external generative organs of a woman, and when used in the sense indicated is merely a symbolic reference.

To get a thorough understanding of lobolo one must be acquainted with the religious implications of the transaction, otherwise much of what underlies the custom will be lost in misconceptions and misunderstandings. Many Europeans are under the impression that the Zulu has no religion at all. This is quite a misleading and erroneous idea, for our Natives, like most primitive people, are deeply religious and adhere firmly to their beliefs. There is hardly any phase of their life which is not in some way associated with their religion, despite all efforts to christianise them. It is no exaggeration to say that cattle and goats form the frame-

work of their religious structure, and I say this because, with the exception of the occasional offering of a human sacrifice for the strengthening of a chief or for the fructification of crops, or of a sheep to appease the elements, cattle and goats are the only animals used by Natives as offerings to their dead relatives. It would indeed be difficult to visualise how ancestor worship could persist were these two animals eliminated from their rituals. The important place filled by cattle and goats in lobolo transactions needs no stressing. These animals and ancestor worship are inextricably interwoven.

Our Natives regard the souls of their dead relatives with great veneration and awe. It is to these in times of trouble and stress that the prayers of the people are addressed. These spirits, known as *amadlozi*, are believed to frequent the immediate precincts of the kraal, especially that portion of the hut known as the *emsamu* situated at the rear end of the hut opposite the door. This is a sacred place and may not be occupied or used for any purpose whatever except for sacrificial offerings, the storage of food, beer, and domestic utensils etc. No person may sleep there. All sacrificial offerings are placed in this portion of the hut in order that their essence may be absorbed by the souls of the dead. Meat subjected to this treatment is believed to acquire certain curative and other virtues, and is in consequence given to those for whose benefit the sacrifice is made.

The *amadlozi* are approached through the medium of the more elderly members of the family or through an *isangoma* or diviner who recites the praises (*izibongo*) of the dead and appears for their aid. As already stated, these addresses are always accompanied by a sacrificial offering. If a "beast" it is usually killed by being stabbed on the side with the "ancestral" assegai. In former days this was the only method but the shooting of a bullock is now a frequent form of killing. The gall of the animal, whether of "beast" or goat, is considered as being of the greatest importance, and is always used to anoint the person on whose behalf the offering is made, by application to the head, arms and feet, and the inflated bladder is given to him to wear as a charm.

This use of the gall bladder is universal amongst our Bantu tribes and must be a custom of great antiquity. It is of interest to compare it with the anointing of the King with holy oil at his coronation.

The importance attaching to the gall bladder is due to the belief that it contains the very essence of the animal by reason of the fact that its secretions, unlike those of the stomach and urinary passages, have no observable exit, and are for this reason regarded as belonging to the body's permanent structure.

As a rule it is only in the more serious cases that the services of the *isangoma* are sought. He is not a witch-doctor; this is a complete misnomer, has no place whatever in Native society and should not be used. The *isangoma* functions much as a local priest and combines his religious calling with that of a medicine man. He claims to possess supernatural powers which enable him to commune with and consult the dead and thus to be in a better position than anyone else to diagnose diseases. The misuse of these assumed powers often leads to persons being "smelt out" as *abathakathi* or evil doers.

It should be emphasized that no "beast" or goat is ever slaughtered in the home without some portion being set aside as an offering to the dead.

On the eve of her marriage, a beast or goat is slaughtered for the benefit of the bride as an offering to the *amadlozi* by her father or guardian. She is anointed with the gall, a ritual which is repeated on her arrival at her prospective husband's kraal where the wedding feast is held. The effect of the latter treatment is to transfer the bride from her family to that of her husband's kraal subject to certain restrictions and taboos. She may not partake of the *amasi* or curdled milk prepared from cattle belonging to her husband's kraal until she has borne a child or until such time as she may be considered to have become firmly established in her new home. To meet this difficulty the bride is frequently given a "spoon" or "milk" beast by her father, but even so, many brides prefer to observe the stricter rules before partaking of milk or milk foods in their husband's kraal.

A woman's cattle value is based on her status and chastity. Should she become the victim of an indiscretion, her seducer becomes liable in damages to the extent of a beast for the deflowerment, and a beast for every child born to him out of wedlock. A seduced woman is not accorded the full wedding ceremonials enjoyed by a virgin, and should such a condition be discovered at the wedding she is treated with scorn and ridicule by her bridesmaids. Such, at any rate, was the rule until recent times, but it is no longer strictly observed. Most brides are either mothers or expectant mothers by the time they are married. It is, however, regarded as the duty of a woman to remain chaste, not only in her own interests, but in the interests of her people, and it is an immemorial custom for young women to be examined periodically by their mothers or other married women in the kraal, though this custom is also falling into desuetude.

From these observations it will be seen that lobolo with its attendant rites has been of considerable influence in preserving the morals of Native women. Let us now consider what effect the advent of the European has had on the position, and whether this claim still holds good.

When the first English settlers landed at Durban Bay in 1823 the lobolo payable in respect of the daughter of a commoner usually did not exceed a few iron hoes or three or four head of cattle. With persons of rank the amount demanded was often much higher, and at times exceeded a hundred head of cattle, e.g. in the case of a chief's daughter, but after British occupation, which occurred in 1843, the practices of extortion and coercion in connection with lobolo became so bad that, as already stated, the Shepstone proclamation of 1869 was promulgated to restrict them.

The maximum amounts fixed by this proclamation were as under:—

On the daughter of a commoner . . 10 head of lobolo cattle.

On the daughter of a headman or official witness . . . 15 head of lobolo cattle.

On the daughter of an appointed chief . . 20 head of lobolo cattle.

On the daughter of an hereditary chief . . . No limit.

During the earlier period of European occupation Natives experienced little difficulty in meeting their lobolo obligations as they enjoyed unlimited land for depasturing their stock and for cultivation. As time went on, however, conditions gradually became more difficult for them. Today the ownership of stock on private farms is strictly limited, whilst in urban areas Natives are unable to possess any stock at all. In the Reserves too, overstocking is becoming so bad that the breeding of cattle and goats is being severely curtailed. These changes have brought about the use of money as a medium of exchange for a wife, with the result that a monetary equivalent for a "beast", amounting to £5, has been fixed by law.

Despite restrictions and legal prohibitions it has become a common practice for a father-in-law to claim a number of items as extras in addition to the lobolo fixed under the Native Code. These usually take the form of a beast, horse, goats, a saddle or even a bicycle, all of which are known by special names.

It will therefore be realised how difficult or impossible it may become for a young man to accumulate sufficient capital to lobola a wife. In many instances young couples are thereby reduced to a state of penury on the threshold of their married lives, so much so that in order to evade the burdensome exactions of lobolo many Natives enter into illicit unions. This undesirable feature is also reflected in the registration of Native marriages, or customary unions as they are now called, which reveals that a large proportion of the women married are already mothers or expectant mothers, when their unions are registered.

It is only fair to state that lobolo is not the only cause for this deterioration in Native morals, but it is undoubtedly one of the principal contributory causes. Owing to circumstances which the Native is unable to overcome or control, the custom is becoming a definite social evil. It is incompatible with a state of living brought about by urban conditions and industrial development by which a very large section of the Native popula-

tion is now affected. It is also anti-Christian and from the viewpoint of economy it is illogical. It is a great pity that lobolo received legal recognition throughout the Union when the Native Administration Act became law in 1927 after so many attempts had been made in this Province and elsewhere to discourage the custom. Prior to 1910 lobolo claims in Natal were barred in all courts of law, but in that year the position was slightly modified under an Act which permitted them being heard by Native chiefs. It is, however, an anomaly that Law No. 46 of 1887, regulating marriages by Christian rites, allows the payment of lobolo on such marriages.

The difficulties experienced by Natives over lobolo have also led to a reduction in polygamous unions, but as this decrease has been due mainly to financial reasons, it can be realised that, with a people with sensual desires highly developed, it has led to an increase in immorality.

Unquestionably the large number of disputes over lobolo, and the enormous amount of litigation involved in consequence, must be the cause of much impoverishment and the disruption of family life. Whilst the custom should be permitted within certain limits, lobolo claims arising out of marriages should be prohibited.

Whilst the framers of the old Natal Code illegalized lobolo claims in their efforts to discourage the custom, they largely defeated the object they had in view by providing for the recording on marriage certificates the number of cattle paid on the celebration of the marriage, and the balance due; and also by permitting the refund of a portion of the lobolo to the husband in certain circumstances in divorce proceedings.

Another very serious aspect of lobolo is its relation to overstocking and soil erosion. Many Native Reserves, though consisting in most instances of hilly and broken country, contain some of the finest stock country in the Union, but owing to overstocking are fast being ruined.

In my opinion the problem should be tackled from two sides. Firstly, the missionary and educational authorities should do all in their power to discourage the practice owing to its association with ancestor worship and the mer-

cenary elements of purchase and sale. Secondly, legislation should be introduced to regulate and reduce lobolo payments, to debar payments on Christian marriages, and to exclude lobolo claims in courts of law. All reference to lobolo in marriage certificates and elsewhere should be eliminated as far as possible.

Our main task is, of course, to convince the Native mind of the undesirable features of the custom, to induce the people to reduce their herds to the carrying capacity of their lands and to improve the quality of their stock. With this

accomplished the solution of one of our gravest problems would be well on the way.

The process of getting rid of the custom *must be a gradual one*, as the above suggestions should prove, otherwise progress would be hampered by dissatisfaction and opposition as the Native is extremely conservative; but some attempt must be made to save the Native from himself and to free him from archaic practices which are now completely out of joint with his rapidly changing social system.

THE RELATIVE CLAUSE IN XHOSA

J. M. JEANJAQUET

The aim of this short study is to bring to light some points hitherto not clearly discussed in the morphology of the ordinary relative clause in Xhosa.¹

The Xhosa relative clause² is constructed by prefixing to its predicate a so-called Relative Concord which depends upon the antecedent of the clause and the subject of the predicate, and in instances where the predicate is alone or bears the emphasis, by suffixing to it the enclitic *-yo* in the present, remote past and perfect tenses.

Two cases are usually taken into consideration in studying the relative concord :

(a) When the antecedent of the clause is a noun without initial vowel, or a demonstrative, or an absolute pronoun, the relative concord is the same morphologically (though not in tone) as the subjectival concord, i.e.

1st person : sing. *ndi-*, plur. *si-*

2nd person : *u-*, *ni-*

3rd person : sing. *u-*, *u-*, *li-*, *si-*, *i-*, *lu-*, *bu-*, *ku-*
respectively for classes one to eight.

plur. *ba-*, *i-*, *a-*, *zi-*, *zi-* *zi-* respectively
for classes one to six.

(b) When the antecedent of the clause is a noun with initial vowel, a particle *a* is prefixed to the concord, assuming, according to phonetical assimilations and contractions, the following forms :

1st person : sing. *endi-*, plur. *esi-*

2nd person : *o-*, *eni-*

3rd person : sing. *o-*, *o-*, *eli-*, *esi-*, *e-*, *olu-*, *obu-*,
oku- respectively for classes one to eight.

plur. *aBa-*, *e-*, *a-*, *ezi-*, *ezi-*, *ezi-*,
respectively for classes one to six.

Moreover it is noted that in the first class singular, when the antecedent is not the subject

of the relative clause, the relative concord, in both cases mentioned above, assumes the dependent form *a-*.

Those are the facts usually stated and known ; but for a more exhaustive study of Xhosa syntax, there are other points which must be brought to light.

First of all, the forms given above for the relative concord apply obviously to verbs in the present, perfect or long future tenses. It is clear that they will apply also to the short future and remote past tenses (remote progressive past, remote pluperfect and aorist) provided we change the second vowel of the disyllabic forms given in the second case, or the vowel of the corresponding forms given in the first case, into *o* for the short future (*endo-*, or *ndo-* instead of *endi-* or *ndi-*, etc.) or *a* for the remote past tenses (*esa-* or *sa-* instead of *esi-* or *si-*, etc.) For the monosyllabic forms (i.e. for the second person singular, and 3rd person classes 1, 2 and 5 singular, and classes 2 and 3 plural), in the first case (when the antecedent is a noun without initial vowel or a personal or demonstrative pronoun), the relative concord is again the same except in tone, as the subjectival concord, i.e. *wo-*, *wo-*, *wo-*, *yo-* for 2nd person and 3rd person classes 1, 2, and 5 singular ; and *yo-* and *o-* for classes 2 and 3 plural in the future tense ; and, for the corresponding persons and classes, *wa-*, *wa-*, *wa-*, *ya-*, *ya-* and *a-* in the remote past tenses.

For example,¹ in Deut. 4/3 we read : *Oko*

¹ All statements in this study are based on actual examples taken from Xhosa literature, and it has been thought best to give the references to all quotations. For this purpose, the following abbreviations have been used : for the Bible, the first figure indicates the chapter, the second the verse ; G. means Genesis ; Ex. Exodus ; Lev. Leviticus ; Nm. Numbers ; Deut. Deuteronomy ; Ps. Psalms ; M. Mark ; Rom. Romans ; J. James. The other books of the Bible are referred to in full and the quotations are made from the Union Version.

Among other books quoted, S.R. stands for "Senior Reader," of the "Stewart Xhosa Readers" of Lovedale, the first figure indicating the page, the second the line. "Amagqunukhwebe" stands for *Ibali lamaGqunukhwebe* of Alfred Z. Ngani :

¹ Locative relative clauses and other special adverbial or conjunctive forms are not dealt with in this survey.

² See Dr. W. G. Bennie's *Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa-speaking*, page 48 and page 83 et passim, and J. McLaren—G. H. Welsh's *Xhosa Grammar* (1936), page 49.

wakwenzayo uYehova ; in Ps. 17/7: *Wena waba-sindisayo abazimela ngawe*.

In the second case (when the antecedent is a noun with initial vowel) the relative concord is preceded by a vowel, which is the same as the full form of the relative concord used for these classes and persons before the verb in the present tense, including the dependent form *a* of the third person when the antecedent is not the subject of the relative predicate. Note the following examples :

For the future :

G. 20/13 : *Inceba owondenzela yona* (2nd person).

S.R. 52/30 : *Isiphumo awophelela kuso* (predicate in the 3rd person).

For the remote past tense (aorist) :

G. 3/12 : *Umfazi owandinikayo ukuBa aBe nam* (2nd person).

S.R. 199/15 : *UWilliam Shaw owathi wazigugulela ngakwaba ntundu* (3rd person).

Rom. 1/1-2 : *Iindaba awazidingayo ngenx' engaphambili* (predicate in the third person).

AmagqunukhweBe 13/19 : *Umsebenzi eyawenzela isizwe sikaYise (inkosi)* (predicate in class 5, singular).

For the remote imperfect (progressive past) :

AmagqunukhweBe 17/1 : *UNdlambe owayesel' emdala* (3rd person).

G. 26/1 : *Indlala eyayikho ngemihla ka-Abraham* (class 5).

According to this, to the general statement that the particle *a* is prefixed to the subjectival concord to form the relative concord of a clause whose antecedent is a noun with initial vowel, we must add, in the case of the weak persons and classes of the short future and remote past tenses, that the particle *a* is assimilated to the following semi-vowel, becoming *o* before *w*, and *e* before *y*, or, for the plural of the 3rd class, is dropped before or absorbed into the *a* of the remote past tense, and the *o* of the short future tense.

Secondly note should be made of the order of

"AmaweLe" stands for *Ityala lamaWele* of S. E. K. Mqhayi (5th edition, 1922); P.P. stands for "Pilgrim's Progress I", translated by T. Soga, edition used as 4th Xhosa reader, Lovedale. Other books when quoted are given with their full title.

the words in the Xhosa relative clause. As a rule, except when the antecedent is possessor of something referred to in the relative clause, the order of words is as follows : (1) Predicate, introduced by the relative concord ; (2) Direct object, if any ; (3) Indirect or circumstantial object or adverbial expression if any ; (4) Subject of the relative clause if the antecedent is not the subject.

In the case referred to above, when the antecedent is possessor, the word standing for the object or person possessed, with relative concord prefixed, is the first word in the relative clause, being immediately followed by the predicate and so on according to the order of sequence given for the ordinary form.

This rule is usually very carefully adhered to. There are however cases where the order of the words is somewhat modified. For instance, in G. 28/4 : *Elo uThixo walinika uAbraham*. The subject of the relative clause, *uThixo*, is placed before the predicate *walinika*, which thus becomes the second word of the clause. It must be pointed out that the word *uThixo* here bears emphasis, and this may account for its exceptional position. Two similar examples are found in G. 6/22 : *Wenza uNowa konke uThixo abemwisele umthetho ngako* ; and in G. 7/5 : *Wenza uNowa konke uYehova awamwisela umthetho ngako*. Such instances however are rare and should not be taken as standard.

* * * *

We now turn to the grammatical nature and function of the antecedent and their relation to the relative concord.

When a noun is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun it loses its initial vowel, and if such a noun is the antecedent of a relative clause, the relative concord will be of the first type (i.e. morphologically similar to the subjectival concord, and termed "the short relative concord"). But a noun can also be followed by a demonstrative pronoun, in which case it does not lose its initial vowel. In this case, and in spite of the presence of the initial vowel, the relative clause, as a rule, is introduced by the same short relative concord as when the demonstrative pronoun precedes the

noun. The following examples illustrate this statement:

S.R. 128/12: *Nokutya oku sikutyayo.*

S.R. 168/31: *Iintsinga ezi ziphantsi kolusu kanye zithe. . .*

G. 11/5: *Inqaba leyo bayaakhayo oonyana bohuntu.*

G. 25/10: *Entsimini leyo wayithengayo uAbraham.*

G. 28/13: *Ilizwe elo ulele kulo.*

Lev. 1/4: *Idini elo linyukayo.*

Deut. 11/8: *Ilizwe elo niwelela kulo.*

Rom. 7/23: *Emthethweni wesoono lowo usemalungwini am.*

Rom. 8/18: *Ubuqagawuli obu buza kutyhikwa kuthi.*

However, examples where the long form of the relative concord is used are also found, sometimes even in the same sentence as the other form. For instance:

S.R. 63/23: *Ingozi leyo eyehla ngomhla wesine.* (In this case the use of the form *yehla* might have brought about some confusion, since the whole sentence is already complex and long).

G. 34/7: *Into leyo engeya kwenziwa.* (The form *engeya*, in the context would certainly be mistaken for a participle).

S.R. 107/19: *Yinto leyo engekafunyanwa.* (Here it seems there is no valid reason for not using *engekafunyanwa*).

S.R. 108/12: *Ukutya oku sikutyayo, okusetyenziswa ngumzimba.* (Here the two forms, with short and long concord, follow each other, but it is difficult to see why the second has got the full form *oku-*, the first having only the short concord *si-*; perhaps it is because the second clause is further from the antecedent and separated from it by another clause).

1 Peter 1/12: *Isinto ke ezo ezizingqenelayo izithunywa.* (In this case it is possible that the long concord *ezi-* is used for the sake of symmetry with *izinto enizityelwayo*, found in the same verse where there is no demonstrative).

In any case, though it seems that the use of the short relative concord whenever the antecedent is followed by a demonstrative pronoun is the

correct form, the use of the long form does not appear to be completely debarred.

We may also notice some cases where the antecedent, even when preceded by a demonstrative pronoun, is linked with the relative clause by the long form of the relative concord. For instance, in S.R. 167/14: *Le ndlela ke kanye ezithi iintsinga zoluvo zihambe ngayo*; where the concord is *ezi-*, and not *zi-*, though the antecedent has no initial vowel and is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun. It must however be pointed out that the clause is separated from its antecedent by two words, *ke kanye*, and that we are confronted here with a special construction of the relative clause in which the auxiliary verb *ukuthi* introduces a clause further interrupted by a parenthesis. The whole sentence reads: *Kukuyo le ndlela ke kanye ezithi iintsinga zoluvo ezihambisa iindaba zihambe ngayo.*

Another example is found in S.R. 61/10: *Loo nto ongenakutsho . . uthi . .* The relative predicate is in the second person of the singular, but has the relative concord *o-* instead of *u-*. In this example the predicate comes immediately after its antecedent, but we must notice that the latter is, so to say, purely formal, and has logically but little to do with the meaning implied, the construction being extremely concise and somewhat colloquial. A more complete and logical form would be: *Yiyo ke loo nto ungenakutsho ngenxa yayo*, or still better: *Ngenxa yaloo nto akunakutsho uthi . .*; but then the briskness and conciseness of the style would suffer.

Nevertheless, in Xhosa, such occurrences are very rare, and met with only in particular cases. So the general rule of using only the short concord to introduce a relative clause when the antecedent is a noun preceded by a demonstrative pronoun should be adhered to.

It may also be mentioned here that, in a very few instances, the full form of the relative concord is used when the antecedent is a demonstrative pronoun alone. In M. 1/7 for instance: *Lowo (unamandla kunam), endingafanelekileyo ukuBa ndithobe phantsi ndiwuthukuhule nomiya wembadada zakhe.* This example is very much like the last one in the preceding case: the antecedent

does not reappear in the relative clause but only in the possessive *zakhe*; in the second next subordinate clause, consequently the relative bond between antecedent and clause is only formal, and this probably accounts for the otherwise irregular use of the full relative concord *endi*-.

With all these forms of the antecedent just reviewed, the relative concord of the first class singular is, of course, *a*- according to the rule, when the antecedent is *not* the subject of the relative clause, wherever the subjectival concord would be *u*-; whereas in the short future and remote past tenses, the concord of the first class singular remains unaltered, i.e. *wo*- or *wa*- in all cases; though here too occurrences appear where the dependent concord *a*- is prefixed to the remote past concord *wa*-; cf. G. 21/3: *Lo nyana wakhe awamzalayo uSara*. However, here it can be said that the *a*- is prefixed to *wamzalayo* by assimilation to the *a*- prefixed regularly to the near progressive form placed just before, the whole sentence reading: *UAbraham wamthiya lo nyana wakhe abemzalelwe, awamzalayo uSara, igama elingu Isake*. Thus this example and others similar would not affect the general rule.

* * *

Let us now consider the case of the absolute pronoun as antecedent. No special mention of this case is made in grammars, except that the relative concord used is the short one.

Now the absolute pronoun may appear in different forms, i.e. in its full form, as *mna*, *wena*, *thina*; or in abridged form in combination with a prepositional particle, as *kuye*, *nalo*, *ngabo*; or with a copula, as *nguwe*, *bubo*, *zizo*; or in its emphatic or superlative form, as *eyona*, *oyena*. Each one of these has to be considered separately.

(1) When the antecedent is an absolute pronoun in its full form:

Here two series of examples are found, one where the full form of the relative concord is used, the other where only the short form is met with.

G. 24/31: *Wena usikelelweyo* (2nd person, cf. also Rom. 2/1 and J. 4/12).

Ps. 17/7: *Wena wabasindisayo* (2nd pers. aorist).

Nm. 14/29: *Nina nindiqofeleyo* (2nd pers. pl.).

Rom. 8/4: *Thina singahambiyo* (1st pers. pl.).

Rom. 7/10: *Wona usingisa ekufeni*. (class II).

There the usual rule is adhered to; but against that we have in Rom. 8/11: *Yena owamvusayo u-Kristu kwabafileyo*, where the implications are exactly the same as in the preceding series of examples, the antecedent having a definite meaning, referring to a known person, and yet the relative clause, even with its verb in the remote past, is introduced by the full form of the relative concord of the first class singular. The same could be said of *Lona oluhlambulukileyo* in J. 1/27, except if *lona* is taken as an apposition to *unqulo*, the latter being then the real antecedent; that is possible, but not very consistent with a logical construction. It seems more likely that not only *lona*, but also the two relative clauses depending on it are together appositions to *unqulo*, in which case *lona* would be the real subject. Now in 1 Corinthians 14/3 we read: *Yena oprofetayo*. Here the absolute pronoun *yena* has no definite reference to anybody known and takes rather the place of an indefinite demonstrative. As a matter of fact; in the next verse, we read: *Lowo uprofetayo*, where the word used as antecedent, with the same implications, is an indefinite demonstrative pronoun: "that one who . . ." But putting together these two clauses we can see clearly that the full concord is not used just by accident after *yena*, because it is *not* used after *lowo*, nor after any of the demonstrative pronouns used as antecedents in verses 2 to 5, whereas the same *Yena oprofetayo* reappears in verse 5. The same observation could be made about 1 John 2/17: *Yena owenza ukuthanda kukaThixo*. Here, too, the absolute pronoun has but the sense of an indefinite, "who-soever does. . ." The same again could be said of *yena* in J. 1/25; J. 2/10 (predicate in the long future tense); Rom. 14/2; 1 Peter 3/13; where *yena*, in the last case, refers to an indefinite interrogative *ngubanina*.

So it seems that provisionally we could accept the following rule:

"When the antecedent of a relative clause is an absolute pronoun in its full form, the relative concord introducing the relative clause is usually used in its short form, except when the pronoun

has a general meaning with indefinite reference, in which case the full form of the concord is used. (It is obvious that such a case can occur only with pronouns of the 3rd person.)

(2) When the antecedent is an absolute pronoun in its abridged form, combined with a prepositional particle, or with the copula.

Here again we have two series of examples. In the one, the short concord alone is found, e.g.

(i) With *na-* :

Acts 1/14 : *Nani nimiyo eYerusalem.*

(ii) With *ku-* :

1 Peter 2/7 : *Kuni bakholwayo.*

(iii) With *nga-* :

2 Timothy 3/11 : *Okunje ngoko ndakuthwalayo.*

(iv) With possessive *a-* :

S.R. 166/5 : *Nesinxhobo sazo zingaphakathi.*

(v) With the copula :

Titus 2/11 : *Lulo lusindisayo.*¹

In all these examples, the general rule is followed : the short relative concord only is used.

But we must now consider another list of instances where the full form of the concord is used.

(i) With *na-* :

G. 17/23 : *Nabo bonke abazalekwe endlwini yakhe.*

G. 20/7 : *Nabo bonke onabo* (2nd person).

Rom. 2/12 : *Nabo bonke abonileyo.*

Colossians 3/23 : *Nakho konke enisukuba ni-kwenza.*

J. 3/8 : *Alunaye amnye onokuludambisa.*

(ii) With *ku-* or *kwa-* :

G. 6/2 : *Kuzo zonke abazinyulayo.*

Rom. 10/4 : *Kubo bonke abakholwayo.*

Rom. 16/24 : *Kuye onakho ukunizimasa ngokweendaba zam.*

Esther 1/13 : *Phambi kwabo bonke abawaziyo umthetho.*

(iii) With *nga-* :

Rom. 8/37 : *Ngaye owasithandayo.*

(iv) With possessive *a-* :

G. 4/21 : *Wabo bonke abaphatha uhadi nogwali.*

Ex. 31/6 : *Zabo bonke abalumkileyo.*

(v) With the copula :

G. 3/12 : *Nguye ondinikileyo kuwo umthi.*

G. 45/8 : *Asinini abandithume apha.*

Rom. 7/17 : *Ayisendim osebenza oko.*

Rom. 7/20 : *Ayisendim okusebenzayo oko.*

J. 3/15 : *(Obo bulumko) asibufo obuhla phezulu.*

Revelation 2/17 : *Ingenguye olamkelayo.*

Ps. 74/14 : *Nguwe owaxhaxha iintloko* (See the same construction repeated through verses 14 to 17).

S.R. 25/29 : *Nguye yedwa ongumntwana ka-Nggika.*

S.R. 100/18 : *Nguye (lowo) abathi abaThembu baya kuhlaba umkhosi ngaye.*

Amagqunukhwebe 18/6 : *NguYe onokusaakha nokusicitha isizwe.*

In every one of these examples the long form of the concord is used; but we must point out the fact that in most cases where the absolute pronoun is combined with a prepositional particle, it is at the same time qualified by an indefinite adjective such as *bonke*, *namnye*, etc. or otherwise has a demonstrative implication.

In Rom. 16/24 (loc. cit.) *Kuye onakho ukunizimasa*, the meaning is not simply "to him who can make you firm," but rather "to him, the very one, the only one who can . . ." Likewise in Rom. 8/27, *ngaye owasithandayo* means "through him, the very one, who loved us."

So, as far as the combination of prepositional particles with the absolute pronoun antecedent of a relative clause is concerned, the provisional rule we have formulated, in the case where the absolute pronoun is used in its full form, seems to hold good.

The case appears different with the combination Copula-Absolute Pronoun. Examples are very rare of the short concord being used in a relative clause having for antecedent an absolute pronoun combined with a copula. The general rule in this case would then be to use the full form of the relative concord, though the reason for this can hardly be explained by saying that it is because the abridged pronoun is part of the predicate.¹ The predicate is all included in the copula of which the pronoun is in fact the real subject.

¹ See Dr. Bennie's grammar, page 86.

¹ This example is directly contradictory to what Dr. Bennie says in his Grammar, page 86, under number 9; but as will be seen, such construction as given in that example does not seem to be the rule.

(3) When the antecedent is an absolute pronoun in its emphatic or superlative form.

S.R. 69/14: *Eyona yoyikekayo kuzo*, where the relative clause, whose antecedent is the superlative pronoun *eyona*, is introduced by the short relative concord *y* (for *i* before a vowel verb).

S.R. 201/9: (*Ndinyule abafana abane*) *abona ndandibona ukuba inKosi se iwuqalile umsebenzi wobabalo kwayo kubo*.

Here the relative clause, whose antecedent is the superlative absolute pronoun *abona*, is also introduced by the short relative concord *nda-*. But the scarcity of the occurrence of such examples is such as to prevent any too great generalisation in making a fixed rule. However, when the emphatic pronoun is followed by the substantive it determines, which is more often the case, the construction is usually also made with the short concord, e.g.

S.R. 9/26: *Eyona nto idume ngayo le ntaka*.

S.R. 13/5: *Sesona sidakwa sinobulumko*.

S.R. 24/20: *Oyena mntu ubefanelwe yimbeko*.

S.R. 105/10: *Owona mgangatho uyimbangeli yezi mfuduka*.

S.R. 105/12: *Neyona nto iva ngayo intaka ngaye*.

S.R. 165/25: *Eyona ndawo zihamba ngayo iindaba*.

S.R. 190/17: *Eyeyona nkosi yamaXhosa ibe idumile kule minyaka*.

S.R. 191/18: *Oyena mntu ube yintloko kwelama-Xhosa*.

Intyila-Zwi (by E. J. Mqoboli, ed. of 1905-06) *Nje ngeyona nto isindisayo*.

Amawele 16/25: *Eyona nto ifunwayo*.

2 Peter 1/19: *Nelona lizwi liqinisekileyo*.

Only one example has been met with of the long concord being used, viz. in 2 Peter 1/19: *Nelona lizwi . . . enityaphayo ukulinyamekela*; but here the relative clause is far from its antecedent, and the grammatical agreement may be considered as done rather according to sense than rigid syntax. Accordingly, and by analogy, it may be provisionally assumed that the short concord is the one to be used to introduce a relative clause whose antecedent is an emphatic or superlative absolute pronoun.

* * *

We have next to consider the Indefinite Pronoun as antecedent to a relative clause. Here again two series of examples are met with. In one case, the long concord is used, in the other, the short one.

G. 4/15: *Bonke ababulala uKayin*.

Ex. 36/8: *Bonke abantliziyo zilungileyo* (see also Ex. 35/22).

Jeremiah 17/13: *Bonke abakufiyayo* (see also John 6/37 and 12/46).

P.P. 22/30: *Akukho namnye wabo owonakalisayo*.

S.R. 98/12: *Akukho namnye oza kuvuma ukuba*

S.R. 106/19: *Ezinye ezihamba embindini womhlaba*.

S.R. 110/6: *Nabani na oyifundayo le migca*.

Ephesians 2/9: *Bani oghayisayo*.

S.R. 167/9: *Othile owakha wafunda ngogoxo olu*.

Against this we read as follows:

J. 1/13: (*Ma kungabi kho*) *namnye ut/hoyo uku-thi*.

1 Corinthians 3/18: (*Ma kungabi kho*) *namnye uzikhohlisayo*.

S.R. 32/26: (*Akubanga kho*) *namnye uvumayo ukuyikhapha*.

G. 41/8: (*Akwabi kho*) *bani unokuwatyhila ku-Faro*.

S.R. 113/31: (*Kungabi kho*) *bani ubuzayo ukuba*

But in those examples, it must be pointed out that the antecedent is *always* preceded by a negative expression as *Ma kungabi kho*, *akwabi kho*, etc., whereas such an expression was found only twice in all the examples given in the preceding series, namely before *namnye* in P.P. 22/30 and S.R. 98/12. It would of course be hard to explain logically why, in those two cases the long concord has been used, and not in any of the similar examples of the second series, but it is none the less safe to formulate the general rule that when the antecedent of a relative clause is an indefinite pronoun, the full form of the relative concord should be used, except in cases where the indefinite pronoun is preceded by a negative expression, when the short concord is preferred.

* * *

Closely associated with the indefinite pronouns are usually the Interrogative Pronouns. These

too may be the antecedents of relative clauses. So for examples, we read :

S.R. 54/22 : *Ngubani na ongaliliyo ?*

Ps. 106/2 : *Ngubani na onokuzixela izenzo ?*

J. 3/13 : *Ngubani na olumkileyo owaziyo kakuhle phakathi kwenu ?*

Amawele 3/1 : *Liliphi ke elithe thu tanci ?*

(See also G. 21/7 ; M. 5/30, 31 ; Rom. 11/34 1 Corinthians 4/7).

In all these cases the long relative concord is used. Against this, we can put very few examples where the short concord is used. In Rom. 14/4, we have : *Ungubani na wena ugweba isicaka somnye ?* But even this instance, with the absolute pronoun *wena* set in as an apposition, is not very clear and cannot go against the very probable rule that, after the interrogative pronoun as antecedent, the full relative concord should be used.

* * *

Two cases remain to be taken into consideration : (i) of a relative clause whose antecedent is not expressed ; (ii) of a relative clause whose antecedent is a substantive modified in more or less unusual ways.

(i) When the antecedent of the relative clause is not expressed, but understood :

If there is no word or verbal expression referring to the understood antecedent before the relative clause, the concord used is always the long one :

G. 9/6 : *Ophalaza igazi lomntu.*

G. 15/4 : *(Ng-)oya kuphuma ezibilinini zakho.*

G. 19/14 : *(Nje ng-) ohlekisayo emehlweni . . .*

G. 30/30 : *Obunayo ndingekafiki* (where *o* stands for the 2nd person of the singular).

G. 37/2 : *(Eng-) ominyaka ilifumi* (where the understood antecedent would be in possessor's relation to *iminyaka*) (see also G. 50/26 and Ps. 101/5b).

Deut. 10/16 : *(Ningabi saba ng-) abantamo ilukhuni* (Same example also in Ps. 34/18).

Esther 4/1 : *Ezirwexayo ngothuthu* (Class 5 plural).

M. 1/3 : *(L-)odandulukayo entlango.*

J. 4/4 : *Othe wanga angaba sihlobo.*

If now the relative clause is preceded by a predicate or a verbal expression directly referring to

the understood antecedent, the construction is the same as above, *only if* the verb or verbal expression does not imply that the person or thing, intended to be represented by the antecedent, is not in existence. Should that negative implication be present, then the short concord would obtain, e.g.

S.R. 190/22 : *(Akukho) ubefika kuMaqoma ngo-kuqonda.*

1 Kings 8/23 : *(Akukho) unje ngawe.*

Esther 1/8 : *(Kungekho) unyanzelayo.*

Ps. 50/22 : *(Kungabi kho) uhlangulayo.*

M. 3/27 : *(Akukho) unakho ukuthi. . .*

On the contrary, when the verbal expression is positive, we always find the full form of the concord as in :

Rom. 15/12 : *Uya kuvela oya kulawula iinTlanga.*

G. 14/13 : *Wafika osindileyo.*

1 John 2/15 : *Kukho othi alithande ihlabathi.*

Amagqunukhwebe 35/19 : *Kukho engekho kwezi zinto* (class 5 sing.)

It is worth noticing that these constructions are very similar to those which obtain when the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun.

(ii) When the antecedent of the relative clause is a substantive modified in some way or other :

First of all it may be without initial vowel :

According to rules usually accepted in such a case, the concord used should be the short one, as is shown by the following examples :

S.R. 15/18 : *O wena mfo umehlo makhulu !*

S.R. 167/11 : *Kukho ndawo zingatyisiweyo.*

S.R. 189/4 : *Kwakungekho sizwe sinye sinakho ukulwa naye.*

G. 2/20 : *Mncedi unguvabo.*

G. 11/6 : *Nto bayinqangiyeloyo ukuyenza.*

G. 14/24 : *Nto iyeyam.*

G. 18/14 : *Nto ingamqabelayo uYehova.*

Ex. 23/1 : *Ludaba lukhohlakeleyo.*

Ps. 148/10 : *(Nani) zintaka zinamaphiko.*

Rom. 2/1 : *Mntu ndini ugwebayo.*

M. 5/8 : *Moya ndini unchohileyo.*

M. 10/21 : *Nto nye uyisweleyo.*

But against this, we have met with some instances where the full form of the concord is used, e.g.

S.R. 29/6 : *Ndoda eyafinza umkhonto.*

Judges 2/10: *Sizukulwana simbi emva kwaso esibe singamazi uYehova.*

Ps. 18/2: *Liwa lam endizimela ngalo.*

Ps. 65/5: *Thixo osisindisayo.*

This use of the long form of the relative concord in such cases is hardly explainable. In three of the four examples given the substantive antecedent is vocative, and in the previous series of examples we have seen many vocatives followed by the short concord, so that no satisfactory logical explanation of the non-application of the rule in the second series is available. It must however be pointed out that there is a very strong tendency among the Xhosa-speaking to use, colloquially, exclusively the long relative concord after an antecedent which is a substantive in the vocative, and accordingly deprived of its article. Even when writing letters, the long concord is usually preferred, and most of the letters I have received are addressed either to *Mfundisi othandekileyo*, or *Mzalwana obekekileyo* or such like, but always with the long concord. Whether this is wrong and should be avoided is a matter open to discussion, but the fact remains.

[Remark: In the case of an antecedent substantive deprived of its initial vowel by accident, as, for instance, after the prepositional particle *ku-* or the personal possessive particle *ka-*, the usual rule used with nouns preceded by their initial vowel is of course employed, as shown in:

G. 19/14: *Kubayeni bentombi abaya kuzeka iintombi zakhe.*

Rom. 2/10: *Kubantu abasebenza okulungileyo.*

1 Peter 1/7-8: (*Ekutyhilekeni*) *kuka Yesu Kristu enithe ningambonanga nje.*]

Another case to consider is that of an antecedent's being a substantive preceded by the collective prefix *o-*. Unfortunately the occurrence of this form is extremely rare, and it is therefore difficult to formulate definite rules before more evidence is gathered.

In G. 1/21, we read: *Ominenga mikhulu*, where the concord used with the adjective *khulu* is *mi-*, and not *emi-* as would be the case if the substantive had its initial vowel instead of the collective *o-*. This seems to point towards the use of the short relative concord in such cases, but as already

stated, more evidence is needed before we can make any precise rule, for the only other example of a relative clause, whose antecedent is a substantive prefixed by *o-*, in S.R. 54/24: *Ngomehlo azele ziinyembezi*, has the concord of the third class plural which in any case would be *a-* before a verb in the perfect tense.

* * *

Before concluding this short study, it may be well to point out a last case which does not occur very often either: that of a relative clause having as antecedent another relative clause or similar form. For instance:

S.R. 32/2: *Owokuqala ongomkhulu*, where the antecedent, *owokuqala*, is in itself a relative clause with understood antecedent. Rom. 8/1: *Abaku-Kristu Yesu abangahambiyo ngokwenyama*, where the antecedent, *abakuKristu Yesu*, is also a relative clause standing for *abantu abakuKristu*.

S.R. 166/7: *Kulo mzimba siwubonayo wodwa onje ngezandla*, where the first relative depending on *lo mzimba* (substantive preceded by a demonstrative pronoun) is introduced only by the short concord *si-*, whereas the second relative clause, *onje ngezandla*, whose antecedent is the first relative clause (rather than the word *mzimba*), is introduced by the full concord *o-*.

It seems then fairly well established that the full concord is to be used in cases where the relative clause has for antecedent another relative clause.

* * *

Having thus reviewed most of the possible constructions of the ordinary relative clause in Xhosa, we may now try to conclude this study by setting up a general rule for the use of the relative concord, a rule which cannot yet be considered as exhaustive, but which will go some way towards completing the broad outlines given in the standard grammars of Xhosa.

This general rule would be:

The relative clause in Xhosa is introduced by a relative concord which is, either:

(1) the same, in form, as the subjectival concord used in simple clauses (except in class 1 singular, where *a-* is substituted for *u-* whenever the antecedent is *not* the subject of the relative

clause, and when the relative predicate is *not* in the short future or remote past tenses);

Or (2) a special form obtained by prefixing to the subjectival concord the vowel *a* which, when combined or assimilated with the different vowels or semi-vowels, gives the following series of concords according to persons and classes:

endi-, *o-*, *o-* (*a*)-, *eli-*, *esi-*, *e-*, *olu-*, *obu-*, *oku-*;
csi-, *eni-*, *aba-*, *e-*, *a-*, *ezi-*, *ezi-*, *ezi-*;

the monosyllabic forms being *owo-* and *eyo-*, or *owa-* and *eya-* in the short future and remote past tenses respectively.

The first or shorter form of the concord should be used in the following cases:

(a) When the antecedent is a substantive without initial vowel (though many vocatives are found followed by the second or longer form of the concord).

(b) When the antecedent is a substantive determined by a demonstrative pronoun, no matter whether this pronoun is put before or after the substantive (though in the latter case instances occur where the longer form of the concord is used).

(c) When the antecedent is a demonstrative pronoun.

(d) When the antecedent is an absolute pronoun in its full form, and with a real personal meaning.

(e) When the antecedent is an absolute pronoun combined with a prepositional particle, and with a real personal meaning.

(f) When the antecedent is an absolute pronoun in its emphatic or superlative form.

(g) When the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun preceded by a negative expression implying the non-existence of the thing or person the pronoun stands for.

(h) When the antecedent is not expressed but understood, and when it is implied that the person or thing, this antecedent would stand for, is *not* in existence.

(i) When the antecedent is a substantive preceded by the collective prefix *o-* instead of its initial vowel (?)

The second or longer form of the relative concord should be used in the following cases:

(a) When the antecedent is a substantive with its initial vowel, and not determined by a demonstrative pronoun, or only accidentally deprived of this vowel, as after the prepositional particle *ku-*.

(b) When the antecedent is an absolute pronoun, either in its full form or combined with a prepositional particle, but with an indefinite meaning or an actual demonstrative implication.

(c) When the antecedent is an absolute pronoun combined with the copula.

(d) When the antecedent is an indefinite pronoun in a positive form (and with a positive implication).

(e) When the antecedent is an interrogative pronoun.

(f) When the antecedent is not expressed, and the thing or person for which it would stand does actually exist, but is not referred to at all in the preceding clause.

(g) When the antecedent is another relative clause.

Though I definitely believe it correct to follow this general rule throughout, it must be pointed out that, at least in a certain number of cases, no rigid law can be enforced, and the language allows a certain amount of fluctuation of forms. But after all a language is a living thing and cannot be thoroughly and statically reduced to unalterable grammatical concepts.

THE DEATH OF A DIALECT

M. D. W. JEFFREYS

The death of a language had suggested itself as the title of this article but insufficient evidence exists to decide whether it is a language or a dialect of one, whose death is described. Also, I am not certain about the distinction between a dialect and a language. Thus, there are the Romance languages, e.g., Spanish and Portuguese, but it is certain that they started by being dialects of a common tongue.

The Bamenda Division of the British Cameroons, West Africa, has an area of approximately 7,000 square miles, about the same size as the principality of Wales but, whereas the highest mountain of Wales (Snowdon) rises only to 3,571 feet, there are several peaks in Bamenda of over 8,000 feet.

The mountainous nature of the land has provided in its fastnesses refuges for remnant races, broken men, peoples shattered by Fulani and other raiders. Here very little linguistic work has been done, but there are, excluding Hausa and Fulfude, twenty-three different languages and, or, dialects.

A study of the tribal history and migration of the present *Bansö* tribe whose language is called *Lamnsö* showed that a Tikari nucleus, originating from a place called variously Ndop: Ndwoy: Kimi: Rifum by them but known to-day as the hamlet of Bamkin in the French Cameroons, settled first at a place called Tavessa. Here they were the vassals of the iron-workers of Dkat. After a few generations these *Bansö* Tikars, augmented by small groups that had in the years joined them from Rifum, attacked the Dkat group and conquered them. The craft of the foundry and of the smithy disappeared from this area. Only numerous slag heaps proclaim the place's ancient industry. The tables were turned, Dkat became a vassal of the *Bansö*. The chief of Dkat was granted chiefly honours by the Fon of *Bansö* and the title of Fon.

Accounts reached me that Tanyi, the Fon of Dkat, is the oldest man in the Division. As I

know that Negroes live to great ages, I decided to visit this ancient man. Accepting the date 1890 as that of the battle between *Bansö* and *Bamum* in which Nsaangu, the *Bamum* chief, was slain, I was able to get a close approximation of the Fon of Dkat's age.

In this battle, fifty-three years ago, Tanyi was then too old to fight while his eldest daughter had a son who was just too young to go to war. When Tanyi "ate his father", as the local expression goes for succeeding to the Chieftainship, he was unmarried. He explained that in those distant days men and women married much later in life than they do now. On the strength of this assertion I make the assumption that Tanyi would be about 22 (a bit young to be a chief) when he married. When his eldest daughter was born he would be 23. Even at the present day, Native girls in this tribe do not marry much under 18 years of age. I assume, giving weight to Tanyi's remarks, that his eldest daughter was nineteen when she married. Tanyi would then be 42. When his grandson was born, Tanyi would be 43. As this grandson was considered to be too young to take part in the *Bansö*-*Bamum* war of 1890 I put him at 16. Tanyi would then be 59-60, i.e., too old, as he said he was, to take part in the fighting himself. If Tanyi's age is taken as 60 in 1890 he must be well in his 113th year. (This article is being written early in 1944).

What have all these calculations to do with the death of a dialect?

In the first place how does a dialect die? I have found very little literature on the subject. "The last Cornish speaker, according to legend, was a woman named Dally Pentreath, who died on 26th December 1777, at St. Paul, near Penzance at the age of one-hundred-and-two." Well, she was the last speaker of the Cornish dialect but how came she to be the last?

"The Gbedegi, (a group among the Nupe of Nigeria) too, are said to have spoken a special

dialect only a generation or two ago. No trace is left of their language. I found only one old man in Jebba Island who could speak a little Gbedegi. 2

In each of these instances the use of the dialect dwindled until at last there was but one speaker left and then at one moment there was a dialect, and at the next, the Angel of Death having passed by, there was none. But has the dialect gone? Does it not survive in words and phrases, and grammatical structure in the language that supplants it? Theorists think that the dialect does survive in this manner, thus:—"Many scholars have recently attached great importance to the subtler and more hidden influence exerted by one language on another in those cases in which a population abandons its original language and adopts that of another race, generally in consequence of military conquest. In these cases the theory is that people keep many of their speech habits, especially with regard to articulation and accent, even while using the vocabulary, etc., of the new language, which, thus to a large extent, is tinged by the old language. There is thus created, what is now generally termed, a substratum underlying the new language. As the original substratum modifying a language which gradually spreads over a large area varies with the character of the tribes subjugated in different districts, this would account for many of those splittings-up of languages which we witness everywhere." 3

Though the above statement may be the general theory of what happens at the death of a language or a dialect, yet it is not an invariable rule. It appears that a language or dialect can and does perish without leaving any traces or remembrances. Thus, it cannot be said that the Cornish language, before its disappearance, in anyway influenced the English language, nor apparently are there any traces of the Gbedegi language in modern Nupe. In the instance which I am about to describe there is no discernible influence of the Dkat language on modern Bamsö. Thus it seems that one language, suddenly placed in the midst of another, can perish without leaving a trace. Another instance is that of the many African

Negro languages which in North America have perished without leaving any traces.

To return to the question, how does a dialect die? One can visualise tribes being exterminated like those in Tasmania and their languages perishing with them, but, where tribes survive conquest as the vassals of another and eventually the vassal language disappears, how does it disappear? Little is known of the last stages in the death of a dialect. It seems that the death of a dialect has occurred long before the last speaker has died; witness the man Professor Nadel found who could still speak a few words of the old Gbedegi. The same phenomenon will be seen in the dialect of Dkat. One cannot say a dialect exists if but one person still speaks it, because, even if he garrulously chatters to himself, one cannot say that this dialect is still spoken.

As I happened to be travelling in the neighbourhood of Dkat I turned aside to visit Tanyi and he did indeed impress me by his general appearance of great age. However he did not come up to the description given by chief Njoya in his history of the Bamum, where he spoke of men so old that their eyebrows had fallen over their eyes. 4

There is a gap of thirty to forty years between himself and the next group of old men whom he regards as of his grandson's age-grade. He said he still used the ancient language when performing the tribal sacrifices and when pouring libations of palm wine over the eleven grave-stones of the eleven Fons who had predeceased him, and of whom he now remembered the names of only five.

If 13.5 years is taken as the average length of an African ruler's reign, then these eleven predeceased Fons account for 150 years. 5 Tanyi's own reign must be about 90 years, so that this Dkat group must have been established here some 240 years ago—well before the arrival of the Bamsö who did not conquer the Dkat until they had been here several generations.

Unfortunately, as I could only pass through his town, I was unable to give more than a couple of hours of the afternoon when I arrived, to taking down tribal notes, part of which centred in the

now defunct iron-ore industry. I took down a few words and give the corresponding Banskö ones.

English	Dkat	Lamnsö
Man	<i>Wunjum</i>	<i>Lumin</i>
Woman	<i>Wurwi</i>	<i>Wi</i>
	(for <i>Wutwi</i>)	
Water	<i>Milap</i>	<i>Menzép</i>
Palm Wine	<i>Mirruop</i>	<i>Milu</i>
Maize beer	<i>Dkan</i>	<i>Dkan</i>
Maize	<i>Wisij</i>	<i>Ngwasaj</i>
Sorghum	<i>Sij</i>	<i>Saj</i>
Sun	<i>Sibawö</i>	<i>Shui</i>
Moon	<i>Muwö</i>	<i>Nwe</i>
God	<i>Nnui</i>	<i>Nnui</i>
Hoe	<i>Asewö</i>	<i>Kisö</i>
Matchet	<i>Nnie</i>	<i>Nnwi</i>
Calabash	<i>Liñ</i>	<i>Kitem</i>
Daughter eldest	<i>Wawumsi</i>	<i>Wanöwi</i>
Son	<i>Wasi</i>	<i>Wanbi</i>
Chief	<i>Fö</i>	<i>Fon</i>
Gun	<i>Dgat</i>	<i>Dgat</i>
Cassava	<i>Gashingga</i>	<i>Gashingga</i>
Father	<i>Tawut</i>	<i>Tarrör</i>
Mother	<i>Tu wut</i>	<i>Yē wöt</i>
Fire	<i>Fwi</i>	<i>Vi</i>
Cloth	<i>Shia</i>	<i>Nzi</i>
Ewe	<i>Ijwö</i>	<i>Nji</i>
Human shadow	<i>Limlim</i>	<i>Kinziyzim</i>
Ram	<i>Iyawö</i>	<i>Kiya</i>
Ghost	<i>Dkwisi</i>	<i>Dkwesi</i>
Fowl	<i>Dgep</i>	<i>Dgwep</i>
House	<i>Ndap</i>	<i>Ndap</i>
Stone	<i>Ti</i>	<i>Ti</i>
Head	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Tu</i>
Goat	<i>Vei</i>	<i>Vei</i>
Dog	<i>Veywi</i>	<i>Jwi</i>

These words were chosen to cover things and ideas that would include something old and something new, both materially and culturally, to see the effect in this dying dialect.

It is among the words for old material things that the widest divergence is found.

e.g. Man	<i>Wunjum</i>	<i>Lumin</i>
Water	<i>Milap</i>	<i>Menzép</i>
Sun	<i>Sibawö</i>	<i>Shui</i>
Moon	<i>Muwö</i>	<i>Nwe</i>
Calabash	<i>Liñ</i>	<i>Kitem</i>

On the other hand the words for head, stone, house, are the same in both languages. This sameness may however be due to the old man's forgetfulness and, without realising it, he may have been giving me Lamnsö words under the impression that they were Dkat. His forgetfulness was a serious factor and I shall touch on it presently.

The words for objects of recent material culture are, as one would expect, the same in both languages namely *gashingga* for "cassava". *Gashingga* is not a Lamnsö word any more than it is Dkat. Cassava was introduced into these areas by Hausa traders from a place in Northern Nigeria called Gashaka, hence *gashingga*, which name is found in many other local tribes, but it has been introduced within living memory. Tanyi should have said, "This food is new, there is no Dkat name for it." Dkat for "gun" appears to be a loan word from some other tribe and as it is the name for gun in many local tribes it can neither be a Lamnsö nor an Dkat word. It is curious to note that the name does not conform with the widely-spread Arabic root *Bunduk*. 6

As these people were iron-workers it is not surprising that their word for "hoe", *asewö*, is quite different from *kisö*, the Lamnsö word. Both languages would appear to have borrowed the name *nnie*, *nnwi*, for a matchet, from a common source. The word for palm-wine appears to be the same, *mirruop* and *milu*. The word *ñkan* for beer brewed from maize, is a loan word from some other language, because it is the name here among a number of different tribes.

Of the two cereals, sorghum and maize, sorghum is an indigenous crop: maize is not. The name for sorghum is the same in both Dkat and Lamnsö. The name *saj* is wide-spread.

The name, Indian corn, for maize, among ourselves means the "corn of the Indian people": while in both Dkat and Lamnsö the name for the exotic maize means, in Dkat "the sorghum of the Wi people", and in Lamnsö, "the sorghum of the Dgwa people". These two different names for the same plant indicate that these two different peoples obtained their first introduction to maize in different places and from different tribes.

The most interesting words are the Dkat for "sun" and "moon". (I have not been able to trace similar forms in other languages).

The Bansö word for "sun", *shui*, is affiliated to a wide-spread root which appears as *chu* or *chi*, *si*, etc. 5

I must now comment on Tanyi's forgetfulness. I asked him to give me the numerals in Dkat. He sat and thought: touched the tips of his fingers and eventually remarked. "It is now so many, many years since I have had anyone to speak to in my language that I have forgotten how to count. I can remember that in Dkat, *γrrim* is ten." I then asked him whether the Dkat language had names for the days of the week, and he replied that it had, but that he had forgotten them all, except those for the two sacred days: the day on which no women go to their farms, and the day on which he poured libations to the ancestors. The Dkat names were *Lem* and *Dkawi*. I pointed out that *Dkawi* was very similar in sound to *Kavi*, one of the days of the Bansö eight-day week.

He replied that it was so, but that whereas *Dkawi* was a sacred day among the Dkat, *Kavi* was not a sacred day among the Bansö: that *Dkawi* marched with *Wailun*, one of the Bansö weekdays and *Lem* with *Nseri*. The Bansö week days are:—

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Kavi</i> (Market) | 5. <i>Gege</i> (Drink day). |
| 2. <i>Revi</i> (Drink day) | 6. <i>Dgoilum</i> (Betrothal day) |
| 3. <i>Kilovi</i> (Sacred) | 7. <i>Wailun</i> (Council meeting). |
| 4. <i>Nseri</i> (Drink day) | 8. <i>Ntaygri</i> (<i>Kwifon</i> . In old days no drum beaten or wood chopped on this day). |

I then tried to get a few sentences from him in Dkat but as he was a toothless old mumbler who spoke rapidly and, when asked to speak more slowly, became irritable and untractable, I was not very successful.

Tayu's house	<i>Nda Tayu.</i>
To-morrow we will go to market.	<i>Mbirila barö nshia ki-veve nve du wei, ndisan ve du.</i>

To-day we go to market. *La löri tshia, lan nve du wei.*

Yesterday we went to market.

I was unable to get down this sentence and when asked to repeat it, the old man refused to do so and, owing to his irritability, the interview was then closed. What little evidence there is, suggests that Dkat belongs to the same group of languages as does Lamnsö, i.e. to the Tikari group. Both Dkat and Lamnsö are tone languages.

The question arises, can one by lack of use, forget one's tongue? The evidence from the old chief of Dkat suggests that it is possible, and corroborative evidence to this effect comes from East Africa. Thus, the Rev. D. H. MacDonald found it with Quilmane Natives who coming from Blantyre had never returned. Speaking of one such Native he wrote: "His use of his Native tongue was considerably 'generalised' by some twenty years disuse. He would often hesitate for a word and employ general terms where his countrymen would have given the special one. He complained of sun 'killing' the corn: the time was when he would have said 'scorching.'" 6

It is tautologous to say that a dialect dies when it ceases to be spoken, but when does it die? The answer is still to seek.

REFERENCES

1. Vendryes, I. Language. p. 287. (London. 1925.)
2. Nadel, S. E. A Black Byzantium. p. 23. (London. 1942.)
3. Jespersen, O. Language: its nature, development and origin. pp. 191-192. (London. 1928.)
4. Njoya. History etc. of the Pamum. Chap. 158. (Unpublished MS.)
5. Westerman, D. The Shilluk People. p. 51 (Gluckstadt. 1912).
6. Jeffreys, M. D. W. Guns. *Journal of the Royal African Society*. January, 1944. p. 28.
7. Meek, C. K. A Sudanese Kingdom. p. 181. (Oxford. 1931.)
8. MacDonald, D. H. *Africana*. Vol. II, p. 306. (London. 1882.)

THE "NEW METHOD" OF TEACHING ENGLISH*

G. C. DARTON

Any account of Dr. Michael West's "New Method" must begin with two notes of warning. There can hardly be any teacher in southern Africa who has not heard of the New Method Series; yet in the comparisons which are continually made between the Series and the various rival systems, two mistakes are almost invariably made. It will be best to dispose of these at the start.

The New Method does not consist of a selected vocabulary of English words; on the contrary, the New Method comprehends not only a selected vocabulary, but a special arrangement of that vocabulary, and a most distinctive discipline for presenting it to the learner. The New Method Readers are not in themselves an entire course in all branches of English—language, literature, grammar and composition; on the contrary, they are a series for teaching foreign learners to read English, and through the understanding of written English, to use it eventually themselves. The New Method Series comprises a vast number of books on various branches of English, and it is necessary to maintain the distinction between the *Readers* and the *Series* of which they are only a part.

The Readers are, however, the kernel of the Series; it is they that are used most widely and have found general favour as a means of teaching the language, and it is round the Readers that the Series has grown up. Four cardinal principles underline the construction and arrangement of the New Method Readers:

1. *Children (and other students) learn to read by reading; they learn a foreign language by using it, not by being told about it.*

The New Method is bound up with what has become familiar to all teachers as the Direct

Method, by which the learner of a foreign language uses, from the first, the language which he is using, and does not learn by continual translation into, and analogy with, his own language, nor by learning and applying formal rules. During the English reading lesson, all time that is not spent in reading English or in practising new words is wasted; the characteristic sentence-patterns of English are to ring and echo in the learner's head long before he can analyse the sentences into their constituent words and phrases and account for their assuming such patterns. This is, of course, nothing but the application to a foreign language of the method by which we all learn our home language.

As much time as possible must be spent in reading, and therefore explanations by the teacher must be reduced to a minimum. Thus new words are largely introduced, at the beginning, on the Look and Say principle: new nouns and verbs are isolated on the page with a small picture. Throughout the whole series of Readers, this principle is never altogether abandoned, though as more difficult words are introduced, at the later stages, definitions (in English) from the teacher or out of the New Method Dictionary have to be used for a larger proportion of the new words. Each word is practised in various typical contexts: in the Primer, in a variety of short sentences; in the later books, by means of a passage of narrative or descriptive prose (occasionally verse) in which the new words are shown at work.

2. *The words which are most commonly used should be learnt first.*

It is not the intention of the Series that a single vocabulary of selected words should be learnt, but that the learner should be led by the shortest way to read ordinary English, as it is written and read by ordinary educated English people. It follows that the words most useful in English must

*This article is the third in a series dealing with the teaching of English to Africans. The first, by Dr. Edward Roux, appeared in December 1942, and the second, by E. C. Parnwell, in September 1943.

be learnt first, and the vocabulary of the New Method Readers was therefore chosen on grounds of frequency; it was found possible to some extent to refine the method still further, and arrange that, within the limits of the chosen vocabulary, the commonest words should be learnt first. The most obvious merit of this system is that, at any stage in the course, the learner has the maximum power of expression in English for the number of words in his vocabulary.

Among the words most commonly used by Englishmen (and we are thinking of the generality of literate Englishmen) are many small words the use of which is largely structural; many of them have only a vague semantic content, and they are generally left out of the restricted vocabularies which are compiled for foreigners. While it is true that without them a man may make himself understood, and his English may be more economical, being semantically more packed, yet the use of the natural idiom is the backbone of English as the English speak it. By the counting of frequencies, words select themselves: the words which have earned a place in the New Method Readers are those used by writers of the English language as it is, not as any individual or committee would like to see it. Any list of words chosen for their frequency will contain a few words the value of which will be disputed by scholars and schoolmasters; it is true that to add one more book to the sources in which the count is made might probably replace a word or two at the foot of the list. However most objections are on other grounds: the atheist will see no necessity for the inclusion of "church" or "angel," the republican would like to remove "king" and "prince", the Central African teacher might consider the list spoilt by the presence of "snow" and "freeze". Of wrangling about single words, there is no end; but the counting of frequency, alone, can give an authoritative summary of usage, beyond which there is no authority. Usage determined the 2,294 words in the vocabulary of the first six New Method Readers.

3. *New words should be introduced steadily and systematically according to a clearly formulated plan; and the use of them practised as systematically.*

The intensive discipline underlying the New Method Readers is not apparent to the learner; it is not always apparent to the teacher. A quota of new words is introduced in every lesson: In the Primer, when the pupil's English vocabulary is very small, the practising of new words (much of which can be done aloud) is chiefly done in cross-sentences, in which columns of alternative subjects and objects are practised with one or two main verbs, or in similar exercises, and the reading which follows is a simple test of comprehension. In the later books, the mechanism is less obvious, but it is still there: in each lesson, the new words each occur several times in typical contexts, within a passage of running prose, and they are unobtrusively practised further in later lessons, and in the simple comprehension questions at the back of each book.

In the Primer and Readers I to VI (the range generally in use in Southern Africa), the numbers of words introduced are:

Red Primer: 216 words

Reader I: 242 new words; Total, 458

Reader II: 303 new words; Total, 761

Reader III: 369 new words; Total, 1,072

Reader IV: 343 new words; Total, 1,415

Reader V: 360 new words; Total, 1,775

Reader VI: 519 new words; Total, 2,294

The system of measured vocabulary-building invites the learner to observe his own progress. At the end of each lesson is printed:

You now know — words

It follows from the strict organisation of the work that the New Method Readers can only be used throughout the course; each successive Reader is meant for the learner who has read the one before, and it assumes that the complete vocabulary of the previous book has been mastered. It is not possible to alternate the Readers with those of other series less carefully-graded or graded on a different plan.

4. *From the earliest possible stage, the learner should be given an opportunity for ample silent, or private, reading in English of his own standard.*

Continuous reading, with the reading matter flowing in connected sentences, begins with the

short paragraphs of Reader I. In the later books, the amount of reading in each lesson, and the length of paragraph permitted, grow with the vocabulary of the learner. So from Reader I onwards, the learner is accustomed to reading English prose, provided that the words used in it are within his own vocabulary; his vocabulary at this stage, and at each later stage, is exactly known, and Supplementary Readers, which introduce no new words, are provided. These are simply story-books, in which the known vocabulary is used and practised, and there is a wide choice of them at each stage. One at least should be read after each Reader has been finished, but quick readers should read more than one. Every New Method Reader opens the way to new stories to be read for enjoyment.

* * * *

These four principles are the foundation of the New Method Readers, which are meant for teaching foreigners to read and understand English, and to think in English. Round them are grouped allied books only a few of which can be mentioned here. Complementary courses are: the New Method Composition Books, a series of five books related in their vocabularies to the corresponding Readers; a Conversation Course; a Series of drill-books in sentence-patterns (by Dr. Harold Palmer) called "New Method English Practice Books". There is the New Method Dictionary in which over 20,000 items are defined in the fundamental "first 2,250" words; and there is the New Method English Library, consisting of books on various subjects for pupils and teachers, each written within the vocabulary of one of the New Method Readers. Each of these books is directed stringently to its own purpose.

The New Method system, and that of the New Method Readers in particular, should commend itself to the teaching of the African generally because it follows in the schoolroom the method of learning a new language which the African follows so readily in his private life. The extraordinary flair of the Bantu for picking up a new language is well-known; he has a quick ear, and a memory which is content to remember without analysing, he learns in units consisting of sentence-patterns,

and with a small stock of the commonest words he can express a huge variety of ideas. The New Method, too, starts with the commonest words, and teaches all words in use, and not as words *in vacuo*; it relies on forming strong habits in sentence-making, and not on abstract precepts or memorised rules. Since it is a rigid system, it can be used for only one purpose—for inducing familiarity with the English language as it is written and spoken by English-speaking people; it is not a short cut, building a minimum standard of English or presenting a working substitute. Short cuts, if only by omitting the varieties and shades of meaning implicit in the wealth of English idiom, tend always to promote the use of a stiff babu-English; they do not bring the learner into community with the body of English writing, or even into free intercourse with English-speaking people. If the African is to learn a special brand of English for use only at his work, he will learn it at his work and in the streets—nor can such an *ad hoc* language be taught at school. But if it is the teacher's intention to open the new horizons of English literature round his pupil, and indeed to give him the full power of thought granted by the use of English, then it would seem best to teach English by the classroom method most like the natural way of learning a language. The Method has, too, the great advantage to the African that at any given stage, the Supplementary story-books are to be had, with ample reading within his power.

In the Union and in the British territories of Africa, the urban African hears some English spoken, and soon has at his command a hundred or two of the commonest words. There is much to be said, then, for a system of teaching, which when he goes to school, designedly starts with those same commonest words and will build round them. However, the hundred (or thousand) commonest words, self-selected by the frequency in the English of England, may not be identical with the hundred (or thousand) commonest words of English heard in the daily traffic of the Johannesburg suburb (or even the East African Club). Examples crowd to mind—for instance, where the Englishman asks "Have the pictures

ended yet?" the untaught house-boy of Johannesburg, learning from local usage, asks "Did the bioscope finish already?" Nevertheless, the New Method sets out on the same path as he would choose for himself, and when it differs in vocabulary from local usage, it is because it does not try to teach a local kind of English.

Finally, there is a small psychological appeal in the Series which might be disregarded by the individual teacher but has been forcibly brought home to the publisher in recent years. It has been noticeable that the African, and in fact the Non-European generally, in territories like the

Union, where the education of Europeans is going on all round him, has grown a new consciousness of his place in the scheme of things: he is not disposed to accept the education given to him without examining it closely—and especially he is unwilling to accept any form of educational book which has been "written down" or "adapted" for his supposed level of intelligence. The African wants the same education as the European, the same examinations and the same books; where he has the power, he insists on them. In the New Method Readers, he has the identical text.

COLONIAL RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

The Colonial Office in London has issued the following statement.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies has been considering ways and means of encouraging scientists to give special attention to problems of colonial interest. On the advice of the Colonial Research Committee he has now decided to institute a number of "Colonial Research Fellowships" which will be open to qualified scientists, whether in the natural or in the social sciences, to enable them to pursue research work in the Colonial Empire.

The Fellowships will normally be for two years, and the Secretary of State hopes that Universities and other research institutions will be willing to grant applicants, if already members of their staffs, leave of absence for this period in order to enable them to take up the Fellowships. Provision has been made for twenty-five such Fellowships within the next five years. It is recognized that war-time shortages of personnel will restrict the immediate applicability of the scheme; it is, however, being brought into force immediately, in case there are suitable candidates in any part of the Empire who are not at present required for urgent war-time work.

The award of these Fellowships will be made by the Secretary of State, on the advice of the Colonial Research Committee.

The Fellowships will normally be reserved for University graduates under 35 years of age from any part of the British Commonwealth and Empire. Candidates must already have had some experience of research, and must have given evidence that they have the ability to plan and prosecute investigations of a high quality without close and constant supervision.

The Fellowships will be tenable normally for a period of two years provided that the Fellow's report from his supervisor at the end of the first year is satisfactory, and may be extended for a third year at the discretion of the Secretary of State.

The Fellowships carry a basic allowance of

£400 per annum, which may be increased to a sum not exceeding £600 per annum if the Fellow is married, or in other appropriate circumstances. Travelling expenses and the cost of any special apparatus or material required for the Fellow's research will also be provided. Where a Fellow is a member of a superannuation scheme in which his employer pays part of the contributions, the Secretary of State will, if necessary, also take over the employer's contributions for the duration of the Fellowship.

Fellowships will be tenable in any part of the British Colonial Empire. Where practicable, Fellows will be attached to centres of higher education in the Colonies and may be required to give occasional lectures of general interest on their subject for the benefit of the students attending courses at such centres.

During his tenure a Fellow shall be responsible to a supervisor selected by the Secretary of State. If the supervisor is not resident in the territory visited, the Secretary of State may appoint, in consultation with him, a deputy supervisor in that territory or in a neighbouring territory.

The Fellow shall submit through his supervisor a concise progress report at the end of each year of his tenure, and a full report of his researches within a reasonable time on the completion of his tenure.

The award will be conditional upon the candidate being certified as medically fit for the type of work to be undertaken.

Applications should be addressed in the first instance to The Secretary, The Colonial Research Committee, Colonial Office, Downing Street, London, S.W.1, and they should state the applicant's age, nationality, educational history, occupational history, and experience of research, and should indicate the precise nature of the problem on which the candidate wishes to do research. They should bear the endorsement of the Head of the College or research institute to which the candidate is attached, or of some other responsible person.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Maynier and the First Boer Republic. By J. S. MARAIS. 1944. Cape Town: *Maskew Miller*. 161 pp. 12s. 6d.

The real hero of this book, as Professor Marais explains in his preface, is the frontier. The period is 1775 to 1802, and the scene is the eastern frontier of the Cape, where, in those turbulent years, amid Kafir Wars and Boer rebellions, our South African Native problem was first developing. No more significant historical theme could have been chosen. For although the frontier, in its physical sense, has disappeared, the habits and attitudes which it engendered still persist today; and what we call the Native problem was, in its beginnings no less than in its contemporary form, as much concerned with the reactions and prejudices of the Europeans as with the behaviour of the Bantu with whom they came into conflict. What is more, the frontier outlook has had an important effect on the writing and teaching of South African history. A frontier legend has grown up—a legend of which the Boer farmers, harried and persecuted by an interfering government, are the heroes, while the Bantu are the natural enemy, the hosts of evil, with whom the Boers, if left alone, would have dealt as they deserved.

Chief purveyor of this legend, according to Dr. Marais, is the historian Theal, and in demolishing the legend, he has likewise demolished Theal. The results are catastrophic. For Theal, unfortunately, is the "father" of South African historiography, and such is the trust that he has inspired—as well as the immense labour of research involved in proving or disproving him—that the greater part of subsequent historical writing, including all our textbooks, has been based on his works. Theal, in short, has not only laid the foundations of our history, but he has shaped the walls and all but placed the roof on. Some few historians, notably Walker, Macmillan, and de Kiewiet, have questioned his interpretations, and revealed additional material. But, in the main, the structure stands as Theal has erected

it, and it has been left to Dr. Marais, in his scholarly and courageous monograph, to dig up Theal's foundations, to examine them scientifically and dispassionately, and to show that they are not rocks but rubble. For this is the effect of Dr. Marais' reinvestigation of this important segment of Cape history. Not all his conclusions, of course, are new. Macmillan has already shown, of the nineteenth century, that the root cause of Kafir wars lay in the struggle for land, while Walker, Agar-Hamilton and MacCrone have all stressed the intransigent individualism of the frontier farmers. But in his evaluation of the landdrost Maynier, whom he calls "the most misunderstood man in South African history," Dr. Marais is breaking entirely new ground, and it is here that his indictment of Theal is so damning. Instead of a misguided Boer-hating doctrinaire, full of silly theories about the "noble savage", Dr. Marais shows this traditional villain of South African history to have been a conscientious and enlightened administrator, a clear-thinking and farsighted man anxious to do justice to Boer, Hottentot servant, and Bantu tribesman alike. Conditions, however, were against him; the wars he strove to avert overwhelmed the frontier, and his work was frustrated by the prejudice and hatred that have pursued his memory until this very day. Nor does Dr. Marais differ from Theal in interpretation only. He proves, beyond possible refutation, that Theal's prejudices have led him to misrepresent the facts, and that he has deliberately omitted and distorted evidence in order to vilify Maynier and justify his opponents. Even the familiar "noble savage" theories which he so contemptuously attributes to Maynier are without documentary foundation. These are serious charges indeed, but no one who follows Dr. Marais' carefully documented arguments can fail to be convinced.

Perhaps the term "courageous" may seem a curious one to apply to a historian. But in South Africa, where the animosities of past history continue to embitter our politics, it takes consider-

able courage to speak unpalatable truths as Dr. Marais has done. It must be emphasised, however, that he has concentrated mainly on the establishment of fact. The conclusions he leaves his readers to draw for themselves, possibly in the belief that it is not the function of the historian to dot the i's and cross the t's. Not everyone would agree with him here. His conclusions are in any event implicit in his statement of the facts, and the book might have gained from a clearer summing up at the end. A greater expansiveness of treatment would also have been desirable, for Dr. Marais' terseness of style, together with the vast mass of material handled, produces at times a rather cramped and huddled impression. These, if they are defects at all, are however minor ones; and Dr. Marais has not only made an important original contribution to historical scholarship, but in so doing he has issued a challenge to South African historians to "get down to it" and tackle the long overdue task of rewriting South African history from its sources.

PHYLLIS LEWSEN.

Empire in Africa. By ALEXANDER CAMPBELL. 1944. London: Gollancz. 159 pp. 6s.

A first reading of this book stirred in me a sense of shame that things are as they are, and that is the kind of reaction that I hope Mr. Campbell wants. Much of the book is good sound stuff based on such reliable authorities as Lord Hailey, Sir Alan Pim, Professor W. M. Macmillan, Alfred Hoernlé and Norman Leys. But what gives the book its character is the very clear distinction it draws between the colonial possessions (whether non-British or British) and the "white settler colonies." It is, evidently, with the latter in mind that the author "sees red." And South Africa has a chapter to itself as "the greatest white settler country in Africa".

The first chapter, "Bird's Eye View", forms an interesting and appetising introduction to the main thesis of the book, namely, that the Africans, poverty-stricken, undernourished, illiterate, clamped within the "strait jacket of climate and geography", "can hope for nothing from the

white settlers who are to-day their lords and masters in East and South Africa, and therefore look to Britain for succour." And, the author adds, "it is in the hope that Britain will not fail them that this book is written". Colonies and possessions are dealt with in order, and their economic health or disease is carefully considered. Uganda is singled out as a striking example of "how a colony should be run", particularly in the successful production and marketing of cotton, though there is probably too much dependence on this one crop.

The record of the White Settler Colonies is less pleasant to read and Mr. Campbell, like Rehoboam, chastises with scorpions rather than whips. This war, he rightly says, is being fought against the idea of a *Herrenvolk*, "but the white inhabitants of Kenya, the Rhodesias, and South Africa have so far betrayed little inclination to apply the lessons of the war to themselves. They deplore the German treatment of Poles, but see nothing wrong with the European treatment of Africans". Colour bars, taxation, labour, education all come under his lash. The last chapter deals with seven problems of Africa. In the forefront he places—even above health, education, and capital—the absolute necessity for a decision on the main political issue of Africa, namely, that of the paramountcy of Native interests or of the all-powerful European *Herrenvolk*.

To one who has watched the trend of events in South Africa over a number of years, and who knows what strides have been made in education, in the absorption of Africans into industry, and the gradual raising of their standard of living, and who can pay tribute also to the deepening concern of the Native Affairs Department in the economic and social health of the Africans under its care, many of Mr. Campbells' statements seem to be somewhat unbalanced, and indeed there are some recognisable inaccuracies. But in a country boasting a free Press it does not seem to me that any harm can be done by honestly facing the problems that he clearly and forcefully sets before us.

A. J. HAILE.

The African as Suckling and as Adult (A Psychological Study). By J. F. RITCHIE. 1943. Livingstone: *The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute*. 61 pp. 2s.

Sociologists and anthropologists have frequently commented on the difference between the thought and behaviour of the primitive and the civilised individual. The primitive, for instance, appears incapable of objective reasoning. He seems to lack a true appreciation of reality. He shows little initiative and is over-dependent on authority. In short, his habits of thought and action remain immature throughout life.

Hitherto this failure on the part of the primitive to progress beyond a certain level has usually been attributed to sociological factors, such as lack of contact with fresh groups, or the rigidity of tradition and belief, which stifles the development of self-criticism. These explanations are, however, incomplete, since they fail to account for the persistence of immature habits of thought and behaviour in individuals who are in daily contact with a civilised group and may even be receiving formal education at the hands of its members.

Mr. Ritchie deals specifically with this problem, and herein lies the main value of his pamphlet. As principal of a school for Africans in Barotse-land, and as a Freudian who has psycho-analysed a number of Africans, he knows a great deal about both the conscious and the unconscious minds of these people. He finds no essential differences between the *processes* of the African mind and those of the European. There are, however, significant differences in the *content*, particularly the content of the unconscious, which can in turn be traced to differences in the earliest infantile experiences of the African and the European respectively.

To summarise Mr. Ritchie's thesis in his own words: "Because of a long period of unbroken indulgence as a nursing, ended by an unbearably sudden and severe weaning, the African has two diametrically opposite convictions about himself, reflected in an equivalent unbalanced attitude to the world. At one level of his mind he is omnipotent, at another he feels absolutely impotent,

while the world is divided into two forces—a benevolent power which would give him everything for nothing, and a malevolent which would deprive him of even life itself. As the world of reality denies his omnipotence he is thrown back on the opposite conviction, and remains helpless and psychically dependent on parents and parent surrogates all his days. His own individual personality, with all its latent powers, is never liberated and brought under conscious rational control, and self-realisation is thus unknown to him."

Mr. Ritchie applies this central thesis to particular aspects of African life, and throws interesting light on, *inter alia*, the African's hatred and distrust of authority, his attitudes towards education and marriage, his apparent inability to feel gratitude, his lack of self-criticism and his inability to think clearly and objectively.

With reference to the last characteristic, the writer points out that even civilised individuals cannot usually reason well when under the stress of strong emotional conflict. Since the African is, unconsciously, almost perpetually dealing with the strong ambivalence of feeling referred to above, it is hardly surprising that he is not able to develop his powers of reasoning to the full. If this theory is correct, it constitutes an important contribution to the study of African intelligence, since it adds yet another item to the list, drawn up by Dr. Biesheuvel, of variables which have to be taken into account before any comparison of African and European intelligence can seriously be made.

It was obviously necessary to stress the negative aspect of the African's emotional conflict, but one cannot help feeling that Mr. Ritchie has failed to do justice even to the outlines of the positive aspect. For instance, he writes as if, at no stage after weaning, does any "good", positive relationship exist between the African and his father, mentioning only an identification with the cruel father of phantasy.

At one point he appears to realise his undue emphasis on the negative aspect of African life, when he points out that Africans "are not habitually miserable people." Nevertheless, he goes

on to say that their attempts at achieving emotional balance bring only an "illusory and precarious success." Surely these two statements are contradictory?

The question that inevitably occurs to the reader of this pamphlet is: can Africans be helped to change their methods of bringing up their children so that they may produce individuals more capable of adjusting to changes wrought by the impact of Western civilisation? Unfortunately, Mr. Ritchie does not deal specifically with this question. Nor does he indicate what have been the effects of the analysis of Africans, either on the personalities and potentialities of the individuals concerned, or on their methods of bringing up their children. It is to be hoped that he will follow up this line of thought at some future date and offer his conclusions in a pamphlet as stimulating as this one.

JOAN PHILIPS

Some Kgatla Animal Stories. By G. P. LESTRADE. 1944. Cape Town: Communication No. 11 from School of African Studies in the University of Cape Town. 82 pp. 3s. 6d.

There are comparatively few collections of Bantu folk-tales, and this collection, originally made by Professor Schapera and translated, annotated, and edited by Professor Lestrade, is very welcome.

There has been much technical literature published in Bantu languages and one tends to think of the Bantu as a people presenting complex political, agricultural, legal, anthropological, or linguistic problems, all specially designed to baffle those who would help the Bantu. It is therefore a welcome change when students of Bantu turn to the lighter side and write something about their life at home. It is the knowledge of this humorous side of Native life that is lacking in our relationship with them. Professor Lestrade's collection will therefore be of interest to those who would know more about the mental life of the Bantu.

Nevertheless, the technical side of Bantu literature is also dealt with in this compilation and Professor Lestrade's notes should certainly be

studied by any serious student of the Tswana language. Such monographs are important stepping-stones in comparative studies. I have noticed that some stories occurring in Venda are also found in Sotho languages, whereas they are not known in Zulu. Such observations, taken in conjunction with other similar linguistic and anthropological findings, may throw interesting light on Bantu migrations and on the relationships of various Bantu tribes to each other.

Regarding the orthography it is especially important that the vowels \bar{e} , \acute{e} , and e and \bar{o} , \acute{o} , and o should be distinguished from each other as Tucker points out in his comparative study. Professor van Eeden and Rev. E. Jacottet have also noticed and pointed out this fact but the vowels (especially \bar{e} and e and \bar{o} and o) are not distinguished in this publication.

Some of the stories are well told, while the style of various others is very poor. Professor Lestrade with his knowledge of Bantu languages, might have given a critical survey of either the style or the interest of the stories. Professor Lestrade's translations reproduce (as far as it is possible for one language to duplicate another) the turn of idiom so charming in Bantu. Because of this faithful reproduction the translations are also of great value to the linguist.

E. WESTPHAL.

A Ki-Swahili Instruction Book for the East Africa Command. By C. R. V. BELL and G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD. 1942. Entebbe: Government Printer. 107 pp.

It is a pleasure to see a little handbook of this type, designed for the practical use of the troops in East Africa and for quickly picking up the rudiments of the language, so free from those blemishes of hurried and careless preparation generally associated with helps to quick learning of a Bantu language. The material here published is correct and well chosen. The explanations, without being too technical, fit in well with scientific theory on Bantu. Naturally the spelling and word-division accord with that adopted for Standard Swahili, and it therefore cannot be helped that in this there is divergence from true

conjunctive writing, and that there is persistence of the treatment of prepositions.

The exercises and vocabulary have naturally a

military bias; but despite this, this instruction book should prove of great value to any learner of Swahili.

C.M.D.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

- Aitken, R. D. Who is my neighbour? The story of a mission hospital in South Africa. 1944. Alice: The Lovedale Press. 73 pp. 2s. 6d.
- Bourdillon, Sir Bernard H. Colonial development and welfare. *International Affairs*, Vol. XX, pp. 369-380. July 1944.
- Gluckman, Max. Administrative organization of the Barotse Native authorities with a plan for reforming them. 1943. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. 15s. (renewed).
- Gluckman, Max. Essays on Lozi Land and royal property. 1944. Livingstone: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. 99 pp. 2s.
- Malinowski, B. A scientific theory of culture and other essays. 1944. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press and Oxford University Press. 238 pp. 18s. 6d.
- Marquard, L. The Native in South Africa. 1944. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press. 2nd ed. revised by Julius Lewin. 105 pp. 3s. 6d.
- Report of the Commission on Bus Services for Non-Europeans. 1944. U.G. 31. Pretoria: Government Printer. 38 pp. 3s. (includes valuable analysis of African family budgets).
- Report of the National Health Services Commission. 1944. U.G. 30. Pretoria: Government Printer. 219 pp. 10s. 6d.
- Social policy in dependent territories. 1944. Montreal: International Labour Office. London: King and Staples. 185 pp. 4s.
- Stern, Jacques. The French colonies. 1944. New York: Didier. 352 pp. \$3.
- Young, T. Cullen. Herrenvolk and Sahib-log. 1944. London: Lutterworth Press. 48 pp. 1s. 6d.

EDUCATIONAL:

- Batten, T. R. Thoughts on African Citizenship. 1944. London: Oxford University Press. 77 pp. 1s. 6d.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

- REV. J. M. JEANJAQUET is a missionary working among the Xhosa in the Transkei.
- M. D. W. JEFFREYS is in the Government service in the British Cameroons.
- G. C. DARTON is the educational representative in South Africa of Longmans, Green and Co., the publishers of the books dealing with the "New Method" of teaching English to Africans.
- ELISABETH LOGAN ENNIS is the wife of Dr. Merlin W. Ennis who has recently retired to America after long service with the American Board Mission in the Bié Highlands of Angola.
- H. C. LUGG recently retired from the service of the Native Affairs Department. He had been Chief Native Commissioner in Natal.
-

